





Inscribed copy
from May Morris
at pub. date

\$3650-
ULMMP
JXY
H1593



GEORGE GOYDER

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2010 with funding from
Duke University Libraries

<http://www.archive.org/details/utopia1893more>

Charles Fobley

from afft
May.

- Times 1893

RB2
Utopia
M836

UTOPIA,
WRITTEN BY SIR
THOMAS MORE.

foreword by William Morris

ALPH Robinson's translation of More's Utopia would not need any foreword if it were to be looked upon merely as a beautiful book embodying the curious fancies of a great writer & thinker of the period of the Renaissance. No doubt till within the last few years it has been considered by the moderns as nothing more serious than a charming literary exercise, spiced with the interest given to it by the allusions to the history of the time, and by our knowledge of the career of its author. But the change of ideas concerning "the best state of a publique weale," which, I will venture to say, is the great event of the end of this century, has thrown a fresh light upon the book; so that now to some it seems not so much a regret for days which might have been, as (in its essence) a prediction of a state of society which will be. In short this work of the scholar and Catholic, of the man who resisted what has seemed to most the progres-

sive movement of his own time, has in our days become a Socialist tract familiar to the meetings and debating rooms of the political party which was but lately like "the cloud as big as a man's hand." Doubtless the *Utopia* is a necessary part of a Socialist's library; yet it seems to me that its value as a book for the study of sociology is rather historic than prophetic, & that we Socialists should look upon it as a link between the surviving Communism of the Middle Ages (become hopeless in More's time, & doomed to be soon wholly effaced by the advancing wave of Commercial Bureaucracy), and the hopeful & practical progressive movement of to-day. In fact I think More must be looked upon rather as the last of the old than the first of the new.

¶ Apart from what was yet alive in him of mediæval Communist tradition, the spirit of association, which amongst other things produced the Gilds, and which was strong in the Mediæval Catholic Church itself, other influences were at work to make him take up his parable against the new spirit of his Age.

The action of the period of transition from Mediaeval to Commercial Society with all its brutalities, was before his eyes; and though he was not alone in his time in condemning the injustice and cruelty of the revolution which destroyed the peasant life of England, & turned it into a grazing farm for the moneyed gentry; creating withal at one stroke the propertyless wage-earner, and the masterless vagrant (hodie "pauper") yet he saw deeper into its root-causes than any other man of his own day, and left us little to add to his views on this point except a reasonable hope that those "causes" will yield to a better form of society before long.

Moreover the spirit of the Renaissance, itself the intellectual side of the very movement which he strove against, was strong in him, and doubtless helped to create his Utopia, by means of the contrast which it put before his eyes of the ideal free nations of the ancients, & the sordid welter of the struggle for power in the days of dying feudalism, of which he himself was a witness. This Renais-

sance enthusiasm has supplanted in him the chivalry feeling of the age just passing away. To him war is no longer a delight of the well born, but rather an ugly necessity, to be carried on, if so it must be, by ugly means. Hunting and hawking are no longer the choice pleasures of Knight & Lady, but are jeered at by him as foolish and unreasonable pieces of butchery: his pleasures are in the main the reasonable ones of learning & music. With all this, his imaginations of the past he must needs read into his ideal vision, together with his own experiences of his time & people. Not only are there bondslaves and a king, & priests almost adored, and cruel punishments for the breach of the marriage contract, in that happy island, but there is throughout an atmosphere of asceticism, which has a curiously blended savour of Cato the Censor and a mediæval monk.

¶ On the subject of war; on capital punishment; the responsibility to the public of kings and other official personages, & such-like matters More speaks words that would not be out of place in

the mouth of an eighteenth century Jacobin; & at first sight this seems rather to show sympathy with what is now mere Whigism, than with Communism; but it must be remembered that opinions which have become (in words) the mere commonplace of ordinary bourgeois politicians, were then looked on as pieces of startlingly new & advanced thought, and do not put him on the same plane with the mere radical of the last generation.

In More then, are met together the man instinctively sympathetic with the Communistic side of Mediaeval society; the protester against the ugly brutality of the earliest period of Commercialism; the enthusiast of the Renaissance, ever looking toward his idealised ancient society as the type and example of all really intelligent human life; the man tinged with the asceticism at once of the classical philosopher and of the monk; an asceticism indeed which he puts forward not so much as a duty, but rather as a kind of stern adornment of life.

These are we may say, the moods of the man who created Utopia for us; & all are

tempered and harmonised by a sensitive clearness & delicate beauty of style, which make the book a living work of art. But lastly we Socialists cannot forget that these qualities and excellencies meet to produce a steady expression of the longing for a society of equality of condition; a society in which the individual man can scarcely conceive of his existence apart from the Commonwealth of which he forms a portion. This, which is the essence of his book, is the essence also of the struggle in which we are engaged. Though doubtless it was the pressure of circumstances in his own days that made More what he was, yet that pressure forced him to give us, not a vision of the triumph of the new-born capitalistic society, the element in which lived the new learning & the new freedom of thought of his epoch; but a picture (his own indeed, not ours) of the real New Birth which many men before him had desired; and which now indeed we may well hope is drawing near to realization, though after such a long series of events which at the time of their happening seemed to nullify his hopes completely.

A frutefull pleasaunt, and wittie
worke, of the beste state of a pub-
lique weale, & of the newe yle, call-
ed Utopia: written in Latine, by
the right worthie and famous Syr
Thomas More knyght, and trans-
lated into Englishe by Raphe Ro-
bynson, sometime fellowe of Cor-
pus Christi College in Oxford, &
nowe by him at this seconde edi-
tion newlie perused and corrected,
and also with divers notes in the
margent augmented. Imprinted at London, by Abraham
Wele, dwellinge in Pauls church-
yarde, at the signe of the Lambe.

The translator to the gentle reader.



YOU shalte understande gentle reader that though this worke of Utopia in englissh, come now the seconde tyme furth in print, yet was it never my minde nor intente, that it shoulde ever have bene imprinted at all, as who for no such purpose toke upon meat the firste the translation thereof: but did it onelye at the request of a frende, for his owne private use, upon hope that he wolde have kept it secrete to hym self alone. Whom though I knew to be a man in dede, both very wittie, & also skilful, yet was I certen, that in the knowledge of the latin tonge, he was not so well sene, as to be hable to judge of the finenes or coursenes of my translation. Wherfore I wente the more sleightlye through with it, propoundynge to my selfe therein, rather to please my saydefrendes judgemente, then myne owne. To the meanesse of whose learninge I thoughte it my part to submit and attemper my stile. Lightlie therefore I over ran the whole woorke, & in shorte

tyme, with more hast then good spede,
I brought it to an ende. But as the lat-
tin proverbe sayeth: The hastye bitche
bringeth furth blind whelpes. for when
this my worke was finished, the rudenes
therof shewed it to be done in poste
haste. How be it, rude and base though
it were, yet fortune so ruled the matter
that to imprintinge it came, & that partly
against my wyll. Howebeit not beinge
hable in this behalfe to resist the pitthie
persuasions of my frendes, & perceav-
ing therfore none other remedy, but that
furth it shoulde: I comforted myselfe
for the tyme, only with this notable say-
ing of Terence.

*Ita vita est hominum, quasi quum ludas
tesseris.*

*Si illud, quod est maxume opus iactu
non cadit:*

*Illud, quod cecidit forte, id arte ut
corrigas.*

In which verses the poete likeneth or
compareth the life of man to a diceplai-
ng or a game at the tables: meanyng
therin, if that chaunce rise not whiche
is most for the plaiers advauntage, that

then the chaunce whiche fortune hathe
sent, ought so connyngly to be played, as
may be to the plaier least dammage. By
the which worthy similitude surely the
wittie poete geveth us to understande,
that though in any of our actes and do-
ynges, (as it ofte chaunceth) we happen
to faile and misse of our good pretensed
purpose, so that the successe & our in-
tent prove thinges farre odde: yet so we
ought with wittie circumspection to han-
dle the matter, that noe vyll or incommo-
ditie, as farre furth as may be, and as in
us lieth, do therof ensue. According to
the whiche counsell, though I am indeede
in comparison of an experte gamester &
a conning player, but a verye bungler, yet
have I in this by chaunce that on my side
unwares hath fallen, so, I suppose, be-
haved myself, that, as doubtles it might
have bene of me much more conningly
handled, had I forethought so much, or
doubted any such sequele at the begin-
ninge of my plaie: so I am suer it had
bene much worse then it is, if I had not
in the ende loked somwhat earnestlye to
my game. for though this worke came

not from me so fine, so perfecte, and so exact, that at first, as surely for my smale lerning, it shoulde have done, yf I had then ment the publishing therof in print: yet I trust I have now in this seconde edition taken about it such paines, that verye fewe great faultes & notable errours are in it to be founde. Now therfore, most gentle reader, the meanesse of this simple translation, and the faultes that be therin (as I feare muche there be some) I doubt not, but thou wilt, in just consideration of the premisses, gentlye and favourablye winke at them. So doynge thou shalt minister unto me good cause to thinke my labour and paynes herein not altogether bestowyd in vaine. Vale.

Thomas More to Peter Giles, send-
eth gretyngē

IH almoste ashamed, righte welbeloved Peter Giles, to send unto you this boke of the Utopian commen wealth, welniegh after a yeres space, whiche I am sure you looked for within a moneth and a halfe. And no marveil. for you knewewellynough, that I was alreadye disbourdened of all the laboure and studye belongynge to the invention in this worke, and that I had no nede at al to trouble my braines about the disposition or conveiaunce of the matter: & therfore had herein nothing els to do, but only to rehearse those thinges, whiche you and I togetheres hard maister Raphael tel and declare. Wherefore there was no cause why I shuld study to set forth the matter with eloquence: forasmuch as his talke could not be fine and eloquent, beyng firste, not studied for, but suddein & unpremeditate, & then, as you know, of a man better sene in the Greke lan-gage then in the latin tonge. And my

The
Epistle

Trueth lo-
veth sim-
plicitie &
playnes

writynge, the niegher it shoulde approche
to his homely plaine, and simple speche,
so muche the niegher shuld it go to the
trueth: which is the onelye marke wher-
unto I do and ought to directe all my
travail and study herin.  I graunte and
confesse, frende Peter, myselfe dis-
charged of somuche laboure, havinge all
these thinges ready done to my hande,
that almooste there was nothinge left for
me to do. Elles, either the invention or
the disposition of this matter, myghte
have required of a witte, neither base, nei-
ther at all unlearned, both some time and
leasure, and also some studie. But if it
were requisite and necessarie that the
matter shoulde also have bene wrytten
eloquentlie, and not alone truelye: of a
sueretie that thyng coulde I have per-
fourmed by no tyme nor studye.  But
now seyng all these cares, stayes, and
lettes were taken awaye, wherin elles so
muche laboure and studye shoulde have
bene employed, and that there remayned
no other thyng forme to do, but onelye
to write playnelie the matter as I hard
it spoken: that in deede was a thyng

lighte and easye to be done. Howbeit to The
the dispatchynge of thys so lytle busynesse,
my other cares and troubles did
leave almost lesse then no leasure.

WHILES I doo dayelie bestowe
my time aboute lawe matters:
some to pleade, some to heare,
some as an arbitratoure with myne a-
warde to determine, some as an umpier
or a judge, with my sentence finallye to
discusse. Whiles I go one way to see and
visite my frende: an other waye about
myne owne privat affaires. Whiles I
spende almost al the day abrode emonges
other, and the residue at home among
mine owne: I leave to my self, I meane to
my booke, no time. for when I am come
home, I muste commen with my wife,
chatte with my children, and talke wyth
my servauntes. All the whiche thinges I
recken and accompte amonge busynesse,
forasmuche as they muste of necessitie
be done: and done must they nedes be,
onelesse a man wyll be straunger in his
owne house. And in anye wyse a man
muste so fashyon and order hys condi-
tions, and so appoint and dispose him

The
authours
busines
and lettes

selfe, that he be merie, jocunde, and pleasaunt amonge them, whom eyther nature hathe provided, or chaunce hath made, or he him selfe hath chosen to be the fellowes and companyons of hys life: so that with to muche gentle behavioure & familiaritie he do not marre them, and by to muche sufferaunce of his servauntes, make them his maysters.

GMONGE these thynges now rehearsed, stealeth awaye the daye, the moneth, the yeare. When do I write then? And all this while have I spoken no worde of slepe, neyther yet of meate, which emong a great number doth wast no lesse tyme then doeth slepe, wherein almoste halfe the life tyme of man crepeth awaye. I therefore do wynne and get onelye that tyme whiche I steale from slepe and meate.

WHICHE tyme, because it is very little, and yet somwhat it is, therfore have I ones at the laste, though it belongeth first finished Utopia, and have sent it to you, frende Peter, to reade and peruse: to the intente that yf anye thynge have escaped me, you

might put me in remembraunce of it. for The
thoughe in this behalfe I do not greatlye Epistle
mistruste my selfe (whiche woulde God
I were somwhat in wit and learninge, as
I am not all of the worste and dullest
memorye) yet have I not so great truste
& confidence in it, that I thinken oþing
coulde fall out of my mynde.

AOR John Clement, my boye, who John Cle
ment
as you know was there presente
with us, whome I suffer to be a-
waye frome no talke, wherein maye be
any profyte or goodnes (for oute of this
yonge bladed and new shotte up corne,
which hathe alreadye begon to spring up
both in Latin & Greke learnyng, I loke for
plentifull increase at length of goodly
rype grayne) he, I saye, hathe broughte
me into a greate doubte  for wheras
Hythlodaye (onelessem my memorye fayle
me) sayde that the bridge of Amaurote,
whyche goethe over the river of Anyder,
is fyve hundred paseis, that is to saye,
half a myle in lengthe: my John sayeth
that two hundred of those paseis muste
be plucked away, for that the ryver con-
teyneth there not above three hundred

The
Epistle

A diversitie
betwene
making a
lye, & tel-
ling a lie

In what
parte of
the worlde
Utopia
standeth
it is un-
knowen

paseis in breadthe, I praye you hartelye
call the matter to youre remembraunce
¶ for yf you agree wyth hym, I also wyll
saye as you saye, and confesse myselfe
deceaved. But if you cannot remember
the thing, then surelye I wyll write as I
have done, and as myne owne remem-
braunce serveth me. for as I wyll take
good hede, that there be in my booke
nothing false, so yf there be anye thyng
doubtefull, I wyll rather tell a lye, then
make a lie: bycause I had rather be good,
then wilie. ¶ Howebeit thys matter maye
easelye be remedied, yf you wyll take the
paynes to aske the question of Raphael
himselfe by woorde of mouthe, if he be
nowe with you, or elles by youre letters.
¶ Whiche you muste nedes do for an-
other doubte also that hathe chaunced,
throughe whose faulfe I cannot tel: whe-
ther throughe mine, or yours, or Raph-
aels. for neyther we remembred to en-
quire of him, nor he to tel us, in what part
of the newe world Utopia is situate. The
whiche thinge, I had rather have spent
no small somme of money, then that it
should thus have escaped us: as well for

that I am ashamed to be ignoraunt in The
what sea that ylande standeth, wheroft I Epistle
write so long a treatise, as also because
there be with us certen men, & especial-
lie one vertuous and godly man, & a pro-
fessour of divinitie, who is exedyng
desierous to go unto Utopia: not for a
vayne & curious desyre to see newes, but
to the intente he may further & increase
oure religion, which is there alreadye
luckelye begonne. And that he maye
the better accomlyshe and perfourme
this hys good intente, he is mynded to
procure that he maye be sente thether by
the hiegh Byshoppe: yea, and that he
himselfe may be made Bishoppe of Uto-
pia, beyng no thyng scrupulous herein,
that hemuste obteynethys Byshopricke
with suete. for he counteth that a godly
suet, which procedeth not of the desire
of honoure or lucre, but onelie of a godlie
zeale.

WHERFORE I moste earnestly
desire you, frende Peter, to
talke with Hythlodaye, yf you
can, face to face, or els to wryte youre
letters to hym, and so to woorke in thys

The
Epistle

matter, that in this my booke there maye
neyther anye thinge be founde whyche
is untrue, neyther any thinge be lacking,
whiche is true. And I thynke verelye it shal
be well done, that you shewe unto him
the booke it selfe. for yf I have myssed
or fayled in anye poynte, or if anye faulte
have escaped me, no man can so well cor-
recte and amende it, as he can: and yet
that can he not do, oneles he peruse and
reade over my booke written. Moreover,
by this meanes shall you perceave, whe-
ther he be well wyllynge & content that
I shoulde undertake to put this woorke
in writyng. for if he be mynded to pub-
lyshe and put forth his owne laboures
and travayles himselfe, perchaunce he
woulde be lothe, and so woulde I also,
that in publishynge the Utopiane weale
publique, I shoulde prevent him, & take
frome him the flower and grace of the
noveltie of this his historie.

The
unkyn-
de
judge-
mentes of
men

DO W B E I T, to saye the verye
treuth, I am not yet fullye deter-
mined with my selfe, whether I
will put furth my booke or no. for the
natures of men be so divers, the phanta-

sies of some so waywarde, their myndes so unkynde, their judgementes so corrupte, that they which leade a merie and a jocounde lyfe, folowynge theyr owne sensuall pleasures and carnall lustes, maye seme to be in a muche better state or case, then they that vexe and unquiete themselves with cares and studie for the puttinge forthe & publishynge of some thynge that maye be either profit or pleasure to others: whiche others nevertheles will disdainfully, scornefully, & unkindly accepte the same. The moost part of al be unlearned. And a greate number hathe learning in contempte. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothing but that which is verie barbarous in dede. If it be one that hath a litle smacke of learnynge, he rejecteth, as homely geare and commen ware, whatsoever is not stuffed fullof oldemought-eaten termes, and that be worne out of use. Some there be that have pleasure onelye in olde rustie antiquities: and some onelie in their owne doynges. One is so sowre, so crabbed, and so unpleasaunte, that he can awaye with no myrthe

nor sporte. ¶ An other is so narrowe betwene the shulders, that he can beare no jestes nor tauntes. ¶ Some seli poore soules be so afearde that at everye snap-pishe woorde their nose shall be bitten of, that they stande in no lesse drede of everye quicke and sharpe woorde, than he that is bitten of a madde dogge feareth water. ¶ Some be so mutable and waverynge, that everye houre they be in a newe mynde, sayinge one thinge syttinge, & an other thyng standynge. ¶ An other sorte sytteth upon their ale-bencheis, & there amonge their cuppes they geve judgement of the wittes of writers, and with greate authoritie they condempne, even as pleaseth them, everye writer accordynge to his writinge, in moste spitefull maner mockynge, lowtinge, and flowtinge them; beyng them selves in the meane season sauffe, & as sayeth the proverbe, oute of all daunger of gonneshotte. ¶ for why, they be so smugge and smothe, that they have not somuch as one hearre of an honesteman, wherby one may take holde of them.

HERE be moreover some so unkynde & ungentle, that though they take great pleasure, and delectation in the worke, yet for all that, they can not fynde in their hertes to love the author therof, nor to aforde him a good woord: beyng much like uncourteous, unthankfull, & chourlish gestes; whiche when they have with good and daintie meates well fylled theire bellyes, departe home, gevynge no thankes to the feastemaker. Go your wayes now & make a costlye feaste at youre owne charges, for gestes so dayntie mouthed, so divers in taste, & besides that of sounkynde & unthankfull natures. But nevertheless (frende Peter) doo, I pray you, with Hithloday, as I willed you before.  And as for this matter, I shall be at my liber-
tie, afterwardes to take newe advise-
ment. Howbeit, seeyng I have taken great
paynes & laboure in writyng the matter,
if it may stande with his mynde & plea-
sure, I wyll as touchyng the edition or
publishyng of the booke, followe the
counsell & advise of my frendes, & spe-
ciallye yours.

**A fitte si-
militude**

The
Epistle

Thus fare you well right hertely beloved
frende Peter, with your gentle
wife: & love me as you have
ever done, for I love you
better then ever
I dyd.

CThe first booke of the communica-
tion of Raphael Hythloday, concern-
yng the best state of a commenwelth.



HE moste victoriouse & triumphant Kyng of Englande, Henrye the eyght of that name, in al roial vertues a Prince most prelesse, hadde of late in controvrsie with Charles, therighthighe and mightye Kyng of Castell, weighty matters & of great importaunce. for the debatement & final determination wherof, the kinges Majestie sent me Ambassadour into flaunders, joyned in commission with Cuthbert Tunstall, a man doutlesse out of comparson, and whom the Kynges Majestie of late, to the great rejoysynge of allmen, dyd preferre to the office of Maister of the Rolles.

BUT of this mannes prayses I wyll saye nothyng, not bicause I doo feare that small credence

shalbe geven to the testimonye that cometh out of a frendes mouthe: but bicause his vertue & lernyng be greater and of more excellency then that I am able to praise them: and also in all places so famous and so perfectly well knowne, that they neede not, nor oughtenot of me to bee praysed, unlesse I woulde seeme to shew and set furth the brightnes of the sonne with a candell, as the proverbe saieth.

HERE mette us at Bruges (for thus it was before agreed) thei whom their Prince hadde for that matter appoynted commissioners: excellent men all. The chiefe and the head of theym was the Maregrave (as thei call him) of Bruges, a right honorable man: but the wisest and the best spoken of them was George Temsice, provost of Casselses, a man, not only by lernyng, but also by nature, of singular eloquence, and in the lawes profoundly learned: but in reasonyng, & debatyng of matters, what by his naturall witte, and what by daily exercise, surely he hadde few fellowes. After that we had once or twise

mette, & upon certayne poyntes or arti-
cles coulde not fully & throughly agree,
they for a certayne space tooke their leave
of us, and departed to Bruxelle, there to
know their Princes pleasure.

The first
booke of
Utopia

IN the meane time (for so my busines laye) wente streighte thence to Antwerpe. Whiles I was there abidynge, often tymes amonge other, but whiche to me was more welcome then anye other, dyd visite me one Peter Giles, a citisen of Antwerpe, a man there in his countrey of honest reputation, and also preferred to high promotions, worthy truly of the hyghest; for it is hard to say, whether the yong man be in learnyng, or in honestye more excellent. **F**or he is bothe of wonderfull vertuous condicions, and also singularly wel learned, and towardes all sortes of people excedyng gentyll: but towardes his frendes so kynde herted, so lovyng, so faithfull, so trustye, and of so earnest affection, that it were verye harde in any place to fynde a man that with him in all poyntes of frendshippe maye be compared. No man can be more lowlye or courteous. No man

Peter
Gyles

usest lesse simulation or dissimulation
in no man is more prudent simplicitie.
Besides this, he is in his talke & commu-
nication so merye & pleaunte, yea, &
that withoute harme, that throughe his
gentyll intertwynemente, and his sweete
& delectable communication, in me was
greatly abated and diminished the fer-
vente desyre that I had to see my native
country, my wyfe & my chyldren, whom
then I dyd muche longe & covete to see,
because that at that time I had been more
then iiiii. monethes from them.

ATON a certayne daye, when I
hadde herde the divine service in
our Ladies Churche, which is the
fayrest, the most gorgeous and curios
churche of buyldyng in all the citie, and
also most frequented of people, and the
service beynge doone, was readye to go
home to my lodgynge, I chaunced to es-
pye this foresayde Peter talkynge with
a certayne straunger, a man well stricken
in age, with a blacke sonneburned face, a
longe bearde, and a cloke cast homly a-
bout his shoulders, whome, by his fa-
voure & apparell, furthwith I judged to

bee a mariner. But the sayde Peter seyng
me, came unto me, and saluted me. And
as I was aboute to answere him: see you
this man? sayth he, (and therewith he
poynted to the man that I sawe hym
talkynge with before) I was mynded,
quod he, to brynge him strayghte home
to you. ¶ He should have ben very wel-
come to me, sayd I, for your sake. ¶ Nay,
quod he, for his owne sake, if you knewe
him: for there is no man thys day living,
that can tell you of so many straunge &
unknowen peoples and countreyes, as
this man can. And I know wel that you
be very desirous to heare of suche newes
¶ Then I conjectured not farre a misse,
quod I, for even at the first syght, I
judged him to be a mariner. ¶ Naye,
quod he, there ye were greatly deceyved:
he hath sailed in dede, not as the mariner
Palinure, but as the experte and prudent
prince Ulisses: yea, rather as the auncient
and sage philosopher Plato; for this
same Raphaell Hythlodaye (for this is
his name) is very well lerned in the Latine
tongue, but profounde & excellent in the
Greke language; wherin he ever bestow-

The first
booke of
Utopia

Raphaell
Hithlo-
daye

ed more studye then in the Latine, because he had geven himselfe wholy to the study of philosophy: wherof he knew that ther is nothyng extante in Latine, that is to any purpose, savynge a fewe of Senecaes & Ciceroes dooynges. His patrimonye that he was borne unto, he lefte to his brethern (for he is a Portugall borne) & for the desire that he had to see and knowe the farre countreyes of the worlde, he joyned himselfe in company with Amerike Vespuce, & in the iii. last voyages of those iiiii. that be nowe in printe, & abrode in everymanneshandes, he continued styll in his company, savyng that in the last voyage he came not home agayne with him. for he made suche meanes and shift, what by intretaunce, & what by importune sute, that he gotte licence of mayster Americke (though it were sore against his wyll) to be one of the xxiiii. whiche in the ende of the last voyage were left in the countrey of Gu-like.  He was therefore lefte behynde for hys mynde sake, as one that tooke more thoughte and care for travailyng, then dyenge: havyng customably in his

mouth these saiynge: He that hathe no grave, is covered with the skye: and, The way to heaven out of all places is of like length and distaunce. Which fantasy of his (if God had not ben his better frende) he had surely bought fulldeare. But after the departyng of Mayster Vespuce, when he had travailed thorough and aboute many countreyes with v. of his companions, Gulikianes, at the last, by merveylous chaunce he arrived in Taprobane, from whence he went to Caliquit, where he chaunced to fynde certayne of hys countreye shippes, wherein he retourned agayne into his countreye, no thyngesse then looked for.

KL this when Peter hadde tolde me, I thanked him for his gentle kindnessse that he had vouchsafed to brynge me to the speache of that man, whose communica-
tion he thoughte shoulde be to me pleasaunte and acceptable. And therewith I tourned me to Raphael. And when wee hadde haylsed eche other: & had spoken these commune woordes that bee cus-

tomablye spoken at the first meting and
acquaintaunce of straungers, we went
thence to my house, and there in my gar-
daine, upon a bench covered with green
torves, we satte downe talkyng together.

HERE he tolde us, how that after
the departyng of Vespuce, he and
his fellowes that taried behynde in
Gulicke, began by litle & litle, throughe
fayre and gentle speache, to wynne the
love and favoure of the people of that
countreye, insomuche that within shorte
space, they dyd dwell amonges them,
not only harmlesse, but also occupying
with them verye familiarly. He tolde us
also, that they were in high reputation &
favour with a certayne great man (whose
name and countreye is nowe quite out
of my remembraunce) which of his mere
liberalitie dyd beare the costes & charges
of him and his fyve companions. And
besides that, gave theim a trustye guyde
to conducte them in their journey (which
by water was in botes, and by land in
wagons) and to brynge theim to other
Princes with verye frendlye commenda-
tions.  Thus after manye dayes jour-

neys, he sayd, they founde townes, and cities, and weale publiques, full of people, governed by good & holsome lawes. The first booke of Atopia
for under the line equinoctiall, and on bothe sydes of the same, as farre as the sonne doth extende his course, lyeth, quod he, great and wyde desertes and wildernesses, parched, burned, & dryed up with continuall and intollerable heate. All thynges bee hideous, terrible, lothesome, and unpleasaunt to beholde; all thynges out of fassyon & comelinesse, inhabited with the wylde beastes, and serpentes, or at the leaste wyse, with people that be no lesse savage, wylde, and noysome, then the verye beastes theim-selves be. But a litle farther beyonde that, all thynges beginne by litle & lytle to waxe pleasaunte. The ayre softe, temperate, and gentle. The grounde covered with grene grasse. Less wildnesse in the beastes. At the last shall ye come a gayne to people, cities & townes, wherein is continuall entercourse & occupiynge of merchaundise and chaffare, not only among themselves and with theire borderers, but also with merchauntes of

The first
booke of
Utopia

Shippes
of
straunge
fassions

The lode
stone

farre countreyes, bothe by lande and water. There I had occasion, sayd he, to go to many countreyes on every syde; for there was no shippe ready to any voyage or journey, but I & my fellowes were into it very gladly receyved. The shippes that thei founde first, were made playn, flatte, and broade in the botome, troughe wise. The sayles were made of great russhes, or of wickers, & in some places of lether. Afterwarde thei founde shippes with ridged kyeles, and sayles of canvasse, yea, and shortly after havyng all thynges lyke oures. The shipmen also very experte and cunnynge, bothe in the sea and in the wether. But he saide that he founde greate favoure and frendship amonge them for teachynge them the feate and use of the lode stone, whiche to them before that time was unknowne. And therfore they were wonte to be verye timerous and fearfull upon the sea: nor to venter upon it, but only in the somer time. But nowe they have suche a confidence in that stone, that they feare not stormy winter: in so dooynge, farther from care then daunger; in

so muche, that it is greatly to be doubted, lest that thyng, throughe their owne folish hardinesse, shall tourne them to evyll and harme, which at the first was supposed shoulde be to them good and commodious.

The first
booke of
Utopia

UT what he tolde us that he sawe in everye countreye where he came, it were very longe to declare, neither it is my purpose at this time to make rehersall therof.

But peradventure in an other place I wyll speake of it, chiefly suche thynges as shall be profitable too bee knownen, as in speciall be those decrees & ordinaunces, that he marked to be well & wittely provided & enacted amonge suche peoples as do live together in a civile policye and good ordre. for of suche thynges dyd wee buselye enquire, and demaunde of him, and he likewise very willingly tolde us of the same. But as for monsters, by cause they be no newes, of them we were nothyng inquisitive, for nothyng is more easye to bee founde, then bee barkynge Scyllaes, ravenyng Celenes, and

Lestrigones, devourers of people, and
suche lyke great & incredible monsters.
But to fynde citisens ruled by good and
holosome lawes, that is an exceeding rare
and harde thyng. But as he marked many
fonde and folissh lawes in those newe
founde landes, so he rehersed divers
actes and constitutions, whereby these
oure cities, nations, countreis, & kyng-
domes may take example to amende their
faultes, enormities and errours. Wherof
in another place, as I sayde, I will intrete
 Now at this time I am determined to
reherse onely that he tolde us of the ma-
ners, customes, lawes and ordinaunces
of the Utopians. But first I wyll repeete
oure former communication by thocca-
sion, and (as I might saye) the drift,
wherof he was brought into the men-
tion of that weale publique.

OR when Raphael had very
prudentlye touched divers
thynges that be amisse,
some here & some there,
yea, very many on bothe
partes, & againe had spo-
ken of suche wise lawes and prudente

decrees as be established & used, bothe here amonge us, and also there amonge theym, as a man so perfecte and experte in the lawes & customes of every severall countrey, as though into what place soever he came geastwise, there he had ledde al his life: then Peter muche mervailynge at the man: Surely maister Raphael, quod he, I wondre greatly why you gette you not into some kinges courte; for I am sure, there is no prince livyng, that wold not be very glad of you, as a man not only hable highly to delite him with your profounde learnyng, & this your knowlege of countreis and peoples, but also mete to instructe him with examples, & helpe him with counsell. And thus doyng, you shall bryng yourselfe in a verye good case, and also be of habilitie to helpe all your frendes and kinsfolke.

AS concernyng my frendes & kynsfolke, quod he, I passe not greatly for them, for I thinke I have suffi- ciently doone my parte towardes them already. for these thynges, that other men doo not departe from until they be olde and sycke, yea, whiche they be then

verye lothe to leave when they canne no longer keepe, those very same thynges dyd I, beyng not only lustye and in good helth, but also in the floure of my youth, divide among my frendes and kynsfolkes. Which I thynke with this my liberalitie oughte to holde them contented, and not to require nor to loke that besydes this, I shoulde for their sakes geve myselfe in bondage unto kinges. Nay, God forbyd that, quod Peter, it is notte my mynde that you shoulde be in bondage to kynges, but as a retainour to them at your pleasure; whiche surely I thinke is the nighest waye that you can devise howe to bestowe your time frutefullly, notonlye for the private commoditie of your frendes and for the generall profite of all sortes of people, but also for thadvauncement of your self to a much welthier state and condition then you be nowe in. To a welthier condition, quod Raphael, by that meanes that my mynde standeth cleane agaynst? Now I lyve at libertie after myne owne mynde and pleasure, whiche I thynke very fewe of these great

states and pieres of realmes can saye. The first
Yea, and there be ynow of them that sue
booke of
for great mens frendeshippes : & ther-
Utopia
fore thinke it no great hurte, if they have
not me, nor iii. or iiiii. suche other as I
am.

WELL, I perceive playnly frende Raphael, quod I, that you be
desirous neither of richesse,
nor of power. And truly I have in no lesse
reverence and estimation a man of your
mynde, then anye of theim all that bee so
high in power & authoritie. But you shall
doo as it becometh you: yea, and accord-
yng to this wisdome, to this high & free
courage of yours, if you can finde in your
herte so to appoyn特 and dispose your
selfe, that you mai applye your witte and
diligence to the profite of the weale pub-
lique, thoughe it be somewhat to youre
owne payne and hyndraunce. And this
shall you never so wel doe, nor wyth so
greate proffitte perfourme, as yf you be
of some greate princes counsel, and put
into his heade (as I doubt not but you
wyl) honeste opinions, & vertuous per-
suasions; for from the prince, as from

a perpetual wel sprynge, commethe a-
monge the people the floode of al that is
good or evell. But in you is so perfitte
lernynge, that wythoute anye experience,
& agayne so greate experience, that wyth
oute anye lernynge, you maye well be any
kinges counsellour. You be twyse de-
ceaved maister More, quod he, fyrste in
me, and agayne in the thinge it selfe,
for neither is in me the habilitye that you
force upon me, & yf it wer never so much,
yet in disquieting myne owne quietnes I
should nothing further the weale pub-
lique. for first of all, the moste parte
of all princes have more delyte in warlike
matters & feates of chivalrie (the know-
lege wherof I neither have nor desire)
than in the good feates of peace: and em-
ploye muche more study, how by right
or by wrong to enlarge their dominions,
than howe wel and peaceable to rule &
governe that they have alredie. Moreover,
they that be counsellours to kinges, ev-
ery one of them eyther is of him selfe so
wise in dede, that henedeth not, or elles
he thinketh himself so wise, that he wil
not allowe an other mans counsel, saving

that they do shamefully and flatteringly
geve assent to the fond and folishe say-
inges of certeyn great men, whose fa-
vours, because they be in high authoritie
with their prince, by assentation & flat-
terie they labour to obteyne. And verily
it is naturally geven to all men to esteme
their owne inventions best. So both the
Raven and the Ape thincke their owne
yonge ones fairest. Than if a man in such
a company, where some disdayne & have
despite at other mens inventions, and
some counte their owne best, if among
suche menne, I say, a man should bringe
furthany thinge that he hath redde done
in tymes paste, or that he hath sene done
in other places; there the hearers fare as
though the whole existimation of their
wisdome were in jeopardy to be over-
thrown, and that everafter thei shoulde
be counted for verye diserdes, unles they
could in other mens inventions pycke
out matter to reprehend, & find fault at.

If all other poore helpes fayle,
then this is their extreame refuge.
These thinges, say they, pleased
our forefathers and auncestours: wolde

The first
booke of
Utopia

Trip-
takers

God we coulde be so wise as thei were: & as though thei had wittely concluded the matter & with this answere stopped every mans mouth, thei sitte downe againe; as who should sai, It were a very daungerous matter, if a man in any pointe should be founde wiser then his forefathers were. And yet bee we content to suffre the best and wittiest of their decrees to lye unexecuted: but if in any thing a better ordre might have ben taken, then by them was, there we take fast hold, findyng therin many faultes. 
Manye tymes have I chaunced upon such proude, leude, overthwarte, and waywarde judgementes, yea, & once in Eng-
land. I prai you Syr, quod I, have you ben in our countrey? Yea forsoth, quod he, and there I taried for the space of
iiii. or v. monethes together, not longe after the insurrection that the Westerne English men made agaynst their kyng, which by their owne miserable & pitiful slaughter was suppressed & ended. In the meane season I was muche bounde and beholdynge to the righte reverende father, Jhon Morton, Archebishop and

Cardinal of Canterbury, & at that time also lorde Chancelloure of Englannde: a man Mayster Deter (for Mayster More knoweth already that I wyll saye) not more honorable for his authoritie, then for his prudence and vertue. He was of a meane stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his bodye upright. In his face did shinen such an amiable reverence, as was pleasaunte to beholde, gentill in communication, yet earnest and sage. He had great delite manye times with roughe speache to his sewters, to prove, but withoute harme, what prompte witte, and what bolde spirite were in every man. In the which, as in a vertue much agreinge with his nature, so that therewith were not joyned impudency, he toke great delectatyon; and the same person, as apte and mete to have an administratyon in the weale publique, he dyd lovingly embrase. In his speche he was fyne, eloquent, and pytthye. In the lawe he had profounde knowledge, in witte he was incomparable, and in memory wonderfull excellente. These qualityes, which in hym were by nature singular, he by learn-

The first
booke of
Utopia

ynge and use had made perfecte. The kynge put muche trusste in his counsel, the weale publyque also in a maner leaned unto hym, when I was there; for even in the chiefe of his youth he was taken from schole in to the courte, and there passed all his tyme in much trouble and busines, beyng continually tumbled & tossed in the waves of dyvers mysfortunes and adversities. And so by many and grete daungers he lerned the experiance of the worlde, whiche so beinge learned, cannot easely be forgotten.

Tchaunced on a certayne daye, when I sate at his table, there was also a certayne laye man cunnyng in the lawes of youre Realme, who, I can not tell wherof takynge occasion, began diligently and earnestly to prayse that strayte & rygorous justice, which at that tyme was there executed upon fellones, who, as he sayde, were for the moste part xx. hanged together upon one gallowes; and seyng so fewe escaped punishment, he sayde he coulde not chuse but greatly wonder and marvel, howe and by what evil lucke it shold so come

to passe, that theves nevertheles were
in every place so ryffe and so rancke 
Naye syr, quod I (for I durst boldly
speake my minde before the Cardinal),
marvel nothinge here at ; for this pun-
yshment of theves passeth the limites
of justice, and is also very hurtefull to
the weale publique; for it is to extreame
and cruel a punishment for thefte, & yet
not sufficient to refrayne and withhold
men from thefte  for simple thefte is
not so great an offense that it owght to
be punished with death; neither ther is
any punishment so horrible, that it can
kepe them frome stealyng, whiche have
no other craft wherby to get their living.
Therfore in this poynte, not you onlye,
but also the most part of the world, be like
evyll scholemaisters, which be readyer to
beate then to teache their scholers. for
great and horrible punishmentes be ap-
pointed for theves, wheras much rather
provision should have ben made, that
there were some meanes whereby they
myght get their livyng, so that no man
shoulde be dryven to this extreme neces-
sitie, firste to steale, and then to dye 

The first
booke of
Utopia

Of lawes
not made
according
to equitie

By what
meanes
ther might
be fewer
theves &
robbers

The first
booke of
Utopia

Yes, quod he, this matter is wel ynough provided for already; there be handy craftes, there is husbandrye to gette their livynge by, if they would not willingly be nought.



HY, quod I, you shall not skape so: for first of all, I wyll speake nothyng of them that come home oute of the warres, maymed and lame, as not long a go oute of Blache heath fielde, and a litell before that, out of the warres in fraunce: such, I saye, as put their lives in jeopardy for the weale publiques or the kynges sake, and by reason of weakenesse and lame-nesse be not hable to occupye their olde craftes, and be to aged to lerne new: of them I wyll speake nothing, forasmuch as warres have their ordinarie recourse. But let us considre those thinges that chaunce daily before our eyes. first there is a great numbre of gentlemen which can not be content to live idle themselves, lyke dorres, of that whiche other have laboured for: their tenauntes I meane, whom they polle and shave to the quicke,

Idlenesse
the mother
of theves

Landlordes
by the wai
checked for
Rent-rais-
yng

by reisynge their rentes (for this onlye
poynte of frugalitie do they use, men els
through their lavasse & prodigall spend-
ynge, hable to brynge theymselfes to
verye beggerye) these gentlemen, I say,
do not only live in idlenesse themselfes,
but also carrye about with them at their
tailes, a great flocke or traine of idle and
loyterynge servyngmen, which never
learned any craft wherby to gette their
livynges. *¶* These men as sone as their
mayster is dead, or be sicke themselfes,
be incontinent thrust out of dores. for
gentlemen hadde rather keepe idle per-
sones, then sicke men, and many times
the dead mans heyre is not hable to main-
teine so great a house, and kepe so many
serving men as his father dyd. Then in
the meane season they that be thus des-
titute of service, either starve for honger,
or manfullye playe the theves; for what
would you have them to do? When they
have wandred abrode so longe, untyl they
have worne threde bare their apparell, &
also appaired their helth, then gentlemen
because of their pale and sickely faces,
& patched cotes, will not take them into

The first
booke of
Utopia

Of idle
servyng
men come
theves

service. And husbandmen dare not set them a worke; knowynge wel ynoughe that he is nothing mete to doe trewe and faythful service to a poore man wyth a spade and a mattoke for small wages & hard fare, whyche beynge deyntely and tenderly pampered up in ydilnes & pleasure, was wont with a sworde & a buckler by hys syde to jette through the strete with a bragginge loke, & to thynke him selfe to good to be anye mans mate. Naye by saynt Mary, sir, quod the lawier, not so; for this kinde of men muste we make moste of; for in them as men of stowter stomackes, bolder spirates, and manlyer courages then handycraftes men and plowemen be, doth consiste the whole powre, strength, and puissaunce of oure army, when we must fight in batayle. Forsothe sir, as well you myghte saye, quod I, that for warres sake you muste cheryshe theves, for suerly you shall never lacke theves whyles you have them. No nor theves be not the most false and fayntharted soldiers, nor soul diours be not the cowardleste theves: so wel thees ii. craftes agree together.

BUT this faulte, though it be much used amonge you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but commen also almoste to all nations. Yet fraunce, besides this, is troubled & infected with a much sorer plage. The whole royalme is fylled and besieged with hiered souldiours in peace tyme, (yf that bee peace,) whyche be brought in under the same colour & pretense that hath persuaded you to kepe these ydell servynge men, for thies wysefooles & verye archedoltes thought the wealthe of the whole country herein to consist, if there were everin a redinesse a stronge & a sure garrison, specially of old practised souldiours, for they put no trust at all in men unexcised. And therfore they must be forced to seke for warre, to the ende thei mai ever have practised souldiers, and cunning mansleiers, lest that (as it is pretely sayde of Salust) their handes and their mindes through idlenes or lacke of exercise, shoulde waxe dul. But howe pernicious and pestilent a thyng it is to main-tayne suche beastes, the frenche men, by their owne harmes have learned, and

The first
booke of
Utopia

The first
booke of
Utopia

What in-
conveni-
ences co-
meth by
continuall
garisons
of soul-
diours

the examples of the Romaynes, Carthagiens, Syriens, & of manye other countreyes doo manifestly declare, for not onlye the Empire, but also the fieldes & cities of all these, by divers occasions have been overrunned and destroyed of their owne armies, before hande had in a redinesse. Now how unnecessary a thinge this is, hereby it maye appeare: that the frenche souldiours, which from their youth have ben practised & inured in feates of armes, do not cracke nor advaunce themselves to have very often gotte the upper hand & maistry of your new made and unpractised souldiours. But in this poynte I wyll not use many woordes, leste perchaunce I may seeme to flatter you. No, nor those same handy crafte men of yours in cities, nor yet the rude & uplandish plowmen of the countreye, are not supposed to be greatly affrayde of your gentlemens idle servyngmen, unlesse it be suche as be not of body or stature correspondent to their strength and courage, or els whose bolde stomakes be discouraged throughe povertie. Thus you may see, that it is not

to be feared lest they should be effeminated if thei were brought up in good craftes and laboursome woorkes, wherby to gette their liverynges, whose stoute & sturdye bodyes (for gentlemen vouchsafe to corrupte & spill none but picked and chosen men) now either by reason of rest and idlenesse be brought to weakenesse: or els by to easy and womanly exercises be made feble and unnable to endure hardnesse. Truly howe so ever the case standeth, thys me thinketh is nothing avayleable to the weale publique for warre sake, which you never have but when you wyl your selfes, to keepe and mainteyn an innumerable flocke of that sort of men, that be so troublesome and noyous in peace; wherof you ought to have a thowsand times more regarde, then of warre.

BUT yet this is not only the necessary cause of stealing. There is another, whych, as I suppose, is proper & peculiar to you Englishmen alone. What is that, quod the Cardinal? forsoth my lorde, quod I, your shepe that were wont to be so meke and tame, and

The first
Booke of
Utopia

The first
booke of
Utopia

English
shepe de-
vourers
of men

Shepe
maisters
decayers
of hus-
bandrye

so smal eaters, now, as I heare saye, be
become so great devowerers & sowylde,
that they eate up, & swallow downe, the
very men them selfes. They consume,
destroye, & devoure whole fieldes, how-
ses, and cities. for looke, in what partes
of the realme doth growe the fynest, and
therfore dearest woll, there noble men,
and gentlemen, yea & certeyn Abbottes,
holymen no doubt, not contenting them
selfes with the yearlye revenues and pro-
fytes that were wont to grow to theyr
forefathers and predecessours of their
landes, nor beyng content that they live
in rest and pleasure, nothinge profiting,
yea, much noyinge the weale publique:
leave no grounde for tillage, thei inclose
al into pastures: thei throw dounе hou-
ses: they plucke downe townes, & leave
nothing standynge, but only the churche
to be made a shepehowse. And as
thoughe you loste no small quantity of
grounde by forestes, chases, laundes, &
parkes, those good holy men turne all
dwellinge places and all glebeland into
desolation and wildernes. Therfore that
on covetous & unsatiable cormaraunte,

& very plague of his natyve contrey, maye
compasse aboute & inclose many thou-
sand akers of grounde to gether within
one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be
thrust owte of their owne, or els either
by coveyne and fraude, or by violent op-
pression, they be put besydes it, or by
wronges and injuries thei be so weried,
that they be compelled to sell all: by one
meanes therfore or by other, either by
hooke or crooke, they muste needes
departe awaye, poore, selye, wretched
soules, men, women, husbands, wives,
fatherlesse children, widowes, wofull
mothers, with their yonge babes, & their
whole household, smal in substance, &
muche in numbre, as husbandrye req-
uireth manye handes; awaye thei trudge,
I say, out of their knowen and accusto-
med houses, fyndyng no place to reste
in. All their housholdestuffe, which is
very littlewoorthe; though it myght well
abide the sale, yet beeynge sodainely
thruste out, they be constrainyd to sell
it for a thing of nought. And when they
have wandered abrode tyll that be spent,
what can they then els doo but steale, &

The first
booke of
Utopia

The de-
caye of
husbandry
causeth
beggery,
which is
the mother
of vaga-
boundes &
theves

The first
booke of
Utopia

The cause
of dearth
of vic-
tuales

What in-
conveni-
ence com-
meth of
dearth of
wolle

then justly, pardy, be hanged, or els go about a beggyng. And yet then also they be caste in prison as vagaboundes, because they go abouthe & worken not: whom no man wyl set a worke, though thei never so willyngly profre themselves thereto. for one shephearde or heardman is ynoughe to eate up that grounde with cattel, to the occupying wherof abouthe husbandrye manye handes were requisite. And this is also the cause why victualles be now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this, the price of wolle is so rysen that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it, & make cloth therof, be nowe hable to bye none at all. And by thys meanes verye manye be forced to forsake worke, and to geve them selves to idelnesse. for after that so much grounde was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of shepe dyed of the rotte, suche vengeance God toke of their inordinate & unsaciable covetousnes, sendinge amonge the shepe that pestiferous morrein, whiche much more justely shoulde have fallen on the shepe masters owne heades. And though the

number of shepe increase never so faste,
yet the price falleth not one myte, be-
cause there be so fewe sellers. for they
be almooste all comen into a fewe riche
mennes handes, whome no neade forceth
to sell before they lust, and they luste
not before they maye sell as deare as they
luste. Now the same cause bringeth in
like dearth of the other kindes of cattell,
yea, and that so much the more, bicause
that after fermes plucked downe, and
husbandry decaied, there is no man that
passesthe for the breadyng of younge
stoore. for these riche men bryngē not
up the yonge ones of greate cattel as they
do lambes. But first they bie them
abrode verie chepe, and afterward when
they be fattēd in their pastures, they sell
them agayne excedyngē deare. And there-
fore, as I suppose, the whole incommo-
ditie hereof is not yet felte; for yet they
make dearth onely in those places, where
they sell. But when they shall fetche
them away from thence wheare they be
bredde faster than they can be broughte
up, then shall there also be felte greate
dearth, stoore beginning there to faile,
where the ware is boughtē.

The first
booke of
Utopia

The cause
of dearth
of wol

Dearth of
cattel with
the cause
therof

Dearth of
victuales
is the de-
cay of
house kep-
ing; wher-
of ensueth
beggery &
thefte

Excesse in
apparell &
diet a main-
teiner of
beggery &
thefte

Baudes,
whores,
winetavernes, alehouses, & unlawfull games be very
mothers of theves.

GHAS the unreasonable covetousnes of a few, hath turned that thing to the utter undoing of your ylande, in the whiche thynge the cheife felicitie of your realme did consist. for this greate dearth of victualles causeth men to kepe as little houses, and as smale hospitalitie as they possible maye, and to put away their servauntes: whether, I pray you, but a beggyng? Or elles (whyche these gentell bloudes and stoute stomaches wyll sooner set their myndes unto) a stealing? Nowe to amende the matter, to this wretched beggerye and miserable povertie, is joyned greate wantonnes, importunate superfluitie, & excessive riotte, for not only gentle mennes servauntes, but also handicrafemen: yea & almooste the ploughmen of the countrey, with al other sortes of people, use muche straunge & proude newefanglenes in their apparell, and to muche prodigall riotte and sumptuous fare at their table. Nowe bawdes, queines, whoores, harlottes, strumpettes, bro-

thelhouses, stewes, and yet an other
stewes, wynetavernes, ale houses, & tip-
linge houses, with so manye noughtie,
lewde, and unlawfull games, as dyce,
cardes, tables, tennis, boules, coytes; do
not all these sende the haunters of them
streyghte a stealyng, when theyr mon-
ey is gone? Caste oute these pernicyous
abhominations, make a lawe that they
which plucked downe fermes, & townes
of husbandrie, shal reedifie them, or els
yelde and uprender the possession ther-
of to such as wil go to the cost of buyld-
ing them anewe. Suffer not these riche
men to bie up al, to ingrosse, and for-
stalle, and with their monopolie to kepe
the market alone as please them. Let not
so many be brought up in idelnes, let
husbandry and tillage be restored, let
clotheworkinge be renewed, that ther
may be honest labours for this idell sort
to passe their tyme in profitablye, whiche
hitherto either povertie hath caused to
be theves, or elles nowe be either vagas-
bondes, or idel serving men, and shorte-
lye wilbe theves.

The first
booke of
Utopia

Rich men
ingross-
ers & fore-
stallers

DOUBTLES onles you finde a remedy for these enormities, you shall in vaine aduaunce your selves of executing justice upon fellons; for this justice is more beautiful in apperaunce, and more florishyng to the shewe, then either juste or profitable. for by suffring your youthe wantonlie and viciously to be brought up, and to be infected, even frome theyr tenderage, by little & little with vice: then a goddes name to be punished, when they commit the same faultes after being come to mans state, which from their youthe they were ever like to do: In this pointe, I praye you, what other thing do you, then make theves, and then punish them?

DOW as I was thus speakinge, the lawier began to make hym selfe readie to answere, and was determined with him selfe to use the common fashion and trade of disputers, whiche be more diligent in rehersinge then answering, as thinking the memorie worthy of the chief praise. In dede sir, quod he, you have said wel, being but a straunger, and one that myghte rather

heare some thing of these matters, then
have any exacte or perfecte knowledge of
the same, as I wil incontinent by open
proffe make manifest and plaine ¶ for
firste I will reherse in order all that you
have sayde: then I wyll declare wherein
you be deceaved through lacke of knowl-
edge, in all oure fashions, maners, and
customes: and last of all I will aunswere
youre argumentes, & confute them every
one ¶ firste therefore I wyll begynne
where I promysed. foure thynges you
semed to me. Holde youre peace, quod the
Cardinall: for it appeareth that you will
make no shorte aunswere, which make
suche a beginnyng. ¶ Wherfore at
this time you shall not take the paynes
to make your aunswere, but keep it to
youre nexte meatynge, whiche I woulde be
righte glad that it might be even to mor-
rowe next, onles either you or mayster
Raphael have any earnest let. ¶ But nowe
mayster Raphael, I woulde verye gladlye
heare of you, why you thinke thefte not
worthye to be punished with deathe, or
what other punishmente you can devise
more expedient to the weale publique; for

The first
booke of
Utopia

He is wor-
thelie put
to silence
that is to
full of
wordes

The first
booke of
Utopia

I am sure you are not of that minde, that you woulde have thefte escape unpunished. for yf nowe the extreme punishe- mente of deathe can not cause them to leavestealinge, then yfruffians&robbers shoulde be suer of theirlyves; what vio- lence, what feare were hable to holde their handes from robbing, whiche woulde take the mitigation of the punishmente, as a verye provocation to the mischiefe?

That
thefte
ought
not to be
punished
by death

Straite
lawes not
allowable

SURELY my lorde, quod I, I thinke it not ryght nor justice, that the losse of money should cause the losse of mans life. for myne opinion is, that all the goodes in the worlde are not hable to countervayle mans life. But if they would thus saye: that the breakynge of justice, and the transgression of the lawes is recompensed with this punishment, & not the losse of the money, then why maye not this extreme and rigorous justice wel be called plaine injurie? for so cruel governaunce, so streite rules, and unmercyfullawes be not allowable, that if a small offense be committed, by & by the sword should be drawen: Nor so stoical ordinaunces are to be borne withall, as to

counte a loffenses of suche equalitie, that
the killing of a man, or the takyng of his
money from him were both a matter, and
the onenomore heinous offense then the
other: betwene the whyche two, yf we
have anye respecte to equitie, no simili-
tude or equalitie consisteth. God com-
maundeth us that we shall not kill; and
be we then so hastie to kill a man for
takeinge a litle money?  And if any man
would understande killing by this com-
maundement of God, to be forbidden
after no larger wise then mans constitu-
tions define killynge to be lawfull, then
why maye it not lykewyse by mans con-
stitutions be determined after what sort
whordome, fornication, and perjurie may
be lawfull?  for where as by the permis-
sion of God no man hath power to kilneis-
ther himself, nor yet anye other man: then
yf a lawe made by the consent of men,
concerninge slaughter of men oughte to
be of suche strengthe, force, and vertue,
that they which contrarie to the com-
maundement of God have killed those,
whom this constitution of man com-
maunded to be killed, be cleane quite &

The first
booke of
Utopia

That
mans law
ought not
to be pre-
judicial
to gods
law

The first
booke of
Utopia

exempte oute of the bondes & daunger
of Gods commaundement: shall it not
then by this reason folow, that the pow-
er of Gods commaundemente shall ex-
tende no further then mans lawe doeth
define & permitte? And so shall it come
to passe, that in like maner mans consti-
tutions in al thinges shal determine how
farre the observation of all Gods com-
maundementes shall extende.  To be
shorte Moyses law, though it were un-
gentle & sharpe, as a law that was geven
to bondmen, yea, & them very obstinate,
stubbyrne, & styfnecked, yet it punished
theft by the purse, and not wyth death.
And let us not thinke that God in the
newe law of clemencie and mercye, under
thewhiche heruleth us with fatherlie gen-
tlenes, as his deare children, hath geven
us greater soupe & licence to the execu-
tion of cruelte, one upon another. Now ye
have heard the reasons whereby I am
persuaded that this punishment is un-
lawful.  furthermore I thinke ther is no
body that knoweth not, how unreason-
able, yea, howe pernitious a thinge it is to
the weale publike, that a thefe and an

Thefte in
the olde
lawe not
punished
by death

What
inconven-
ience en-
sueth of
punish-
yng theft
with death

homicide or murderer, should suffer equall & like punishment. for the thefe seyng that man is condempned for thefte in no lesse jeoperdie, nor judged to no lesse punishment, then him that is convicte of manslaughter: through this cogitation onely he is strongly and forciblye provoked, and in a maner constrained to kill him whome els he woulde have but robbed. for the murder beyng ones done, he is in lesse feare, and in more hoope that the deede shall not be bewrayed or knownen, seyng the partye is nowe deade, & rydde oute of the waye, which onelye mighte have uttered & disclosed it. But if he chaunce to be taken and discrived: yet he is in no more daunger and jeopardie, then if he had committed but single fellonye. Therfore whiles we go about with suche crueltie to make theves aferd, we provoke them to kil good men.

NOW as touchinge this question, what punishmente were more commodious & better: that true, lye in my judgemente is easier to be founde, then what punishment might

The first
booke of
Utopia

Punishing
of theft by
deathe cau-
seth the
thefe to be a
murtherer

What law-
full punish-
ment may
be devised
for theft

The first
booke of
Utopia

Howe the
Romayns
punished
theft

A worthy
and com-
mendable
punish-
ment of
theves in
the weale
publique
of the Po-
lylerites
in Persia

be wурse. for why should we doubt that to be a good & a profytable waye for the punishmente of offendours, whiche we knowe did in tymes past so longe please the Romaines, men in the administration of a weale publique mooste experte, politique, and cunnyng? Suche as amonge them were convicte of great and heynous trespasses, them they condempned into stone quarries, and into mienes to digge mettalle, there to be kepte in cheynes all the dayes of their life. But as concernyng this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no nation so wel as that which I sawe, whiles I travailed abroade aboute the worlde, used in Persia amonge the people that commenly be called the Polylerites. Whose land is both large and ample, & also well and wittelye governed: and the people in all conditions free & ruled by their owne lawes, savinge that they paye a yearelye tribute to the great kinge of Persia. But bicause they be farre from the sea, compassed & inclosed almoste rounde aboute with hyghe mountaines, & do content themselves with the fruites of their owne lande, whiche is of it selfe

verye fertile and frutfull: for this cause
neither they go to other countreis, nor
other come to them. And accordynge to
the olde custome of the land, they desire
not to enlarge the boundes of their do-
minions: & those that they have, by rea-
son of the highe hilles be easely defend-
ed: and the tribute whiche they paye to
their chiefe lord and kinge, setteth them
quite and free from warfare. Thus their
life is commodious rather than gallante,
& may better be called happie, or welthy,
then notable or famous: for they be not
knowen as much as by name, I suppose,
saving only to theyr next neighbours &
borderes.

HEY that in this lande be attein-
ted and convict of felony, make re-
stitution of that which they stole,
to the righte owner: and not (as they do
in other landes) to the kinge: whome
they thinke to have no more righte to the
thiefestolen thinge, then the thiefe him
selfe hathe. But if the thing be loste or
made away, then the value of it is paide
of the gooddes of such offenders, which
els remaineth all whole to their wifes &

The first
booke of
Utopia

A privie
nippe for
them that
do other-
wise

children. And they them selves be condemned to be common laborers, & ones les the thefte be verie heinous, they be neyther locked in prison, nor fettered in gives, but be untied & go at large, laboring in the common workes. They that refuse labour, or go slowly & slacklye to their worke, be not onelye tied in cheynes, but also pricked forward with stripes. But beinge diligente aboue theyr worke they live without checke or rebuke. Every night they be called in by name: and be locked in theyr chambers. Beside their dayly labour, their life is nothing hard or incommodious. Their fare is indifferent good, borne at the charges of the weale publike, bicause they be commen seruautes to the commen wealth. But their charges in all places of the lande is not borne alike, for in some partes, that which is bestowed upon them is gathered of almes. And though that waye be un- certein, yet the people be so ful of mercy and pitie, that none is found more profitable or plentifull. In some places certain landes be appointed hereunto: of the revenewes wherof they be maaintained.

And in some places everye man geveth
a certein tribute for the same use and
purpose. Againe in some partes of the
land these serving men (for so be these
dampned persons called) do no common
worke, but as everye private man nedeth
laborours, so he commeth into the mar-
kette place, and there hierethe some of
them for meate and drinke, & a certeine
limitted waiges by the daye, sumwhat
cheper then he shoulde hire a free man.
It is also lawefull for them to chastice
the slouthe of these servinge men with
stripes. By this meanes they never lacke
worke, and besides the gayninge of their
meate and drinke, everye one of them
bringeth dailie some thing into the com-
mon treasourie. All and every one of
them be apparailed in one coloure. Their
heades be not polled or shaven, but
rounded a lytle above the eares. And the
typpe of the one eare is cut of. Every
one of them maye take meate and drinke
of their frendes, and also a coate of their
owne coloure: but to receive money is
deathe, as well to the gever, as to the re-
ceivoure, and no lesse jeoperdie it is for a

The first
booke of
Utopia

Serving
men

The first
booke of
Utopia

An evell
intent es-
temed as
the dede

The right
end and
intent of
punishe-
ment

free man to receive moneye of a servynge
manne for anye maner of cause: & lyke-
wise for servinge men to touche weapons

G The servinge men of everye severall
shire be distincke & knownen frome other
by their severall and distincke badges:
whiche to caste awaye is death: as it is al-
so to be sene oute of the precincte of their
owne shire, or to talke with a servinge man
of another shyre **G** And it is no lesse
daunger to them, for to intende to runne
awaye, then to do it in dede. Yea & to con-
ceal such an enterpries, in a servinge man
it is deathe, in a free man servitude. Of the
contrarie parte, to him that openeth & ut-
tereth such counselles, be decreed large
giftes: to a free man a great some of mo-
ney, to a serving man freedome: and to
them bothe forgevenes & pardone of that
they were of counsell in that pretence; so
that it can never be so good for them to
go forewarde in their evyll purpose, as by
repentaunce to tourne backe.

G HIS is the lawe and order in this
behalf, as I have shewed you. **G**
Wherin, what humanitie is used,
howe farre it is frome crueltie, and howe

commodyous it is, you do playnelye per-
ceave: forasmuche as the ende of their
wrath & punyshemente intendeth noth-
ynge elles, but the destruction of vices,
and savynge of menne: with so usynge,
& ordering them, that they can not chuse
but be good, & what harme so ever they
did before, in the residewe of theyr life
to make a mendes for the same.  More-
over it is so little feared, that they shoulde
tourneagaine to their vicious conditions,
that wayefaringe men wyll for theirselves
garde chuse them to theyr guydes before
any other, in every sheire chaunging and
taking new. for if they would committe
robbery, they havenothinge abouthe them
meate for that purpose. They may touch
no weapons: money founde abouthe them
shoulde betraie the robbery.  They
shoulde be no sooner taken with the
maner, but furthwith they shoulde be
punished. Neither they can have any hope
at all to skape awaye by flienge. for howe
should a man, that in no parte of his ap-
parell is like other men, flye prevelie and
unknowen, oneles he woulde runneawaye
naked?  Howebeit so also flyinge he

shoulde be discribed by the roundyng of his heade, and his eare marke. But it is a thinge to be doubted, that they will laye theyr hedes together, and conspire againste the weale publique. No no I warrantee you. for the servyng men of one sheire alone, coulde never hoope to bringe to passe suche an enterprise, without sollicitinge, entysinge, & allurynge the servinge men of manye other shieres to take their partes. Whiche thinge is to them so impossible, that they maye not asmuch as speake or talke togethers, or salute one an other. No, it is not to be thoughte that they woulde make theyr owne countreymen and companions of their counsell in suche a matter, whiche they knowe well should be jeopardie to the concelour therof, and great commoditie and goodnes to the opener & detectour of the same. Whereas on the other parte, there is none of them allhopeles or in dispaire to recover againe his former estate of fredome, by humble obedience, by paciente suffringe, and by geving good tokens and likelyhoode of himselfe, that he wyll everafter that, lyve

like a trewe & an honest man; for everye The first
yeare divers of them be restored to their booke of
freedome throughe the commendation Utopia
of their patience.

WHAN I had thus spoken, say-
inge moreover that I coulde see
no cause why this ordre might
not be had in Englande, with muche more
profyte then the justice whiche the law-
yer so heighly praysed: Naye, quod the
lawier, this coulde never be so stablysh-
ed in Englande, but that it must nedes
bringe the weale publike into great jeo-
perdie and hasarde. And as he was thus
sayinge, he shaked his heade, and made
awrie mouthe, and so he helde his peace.
And all that were there present, with one
assent agreed to his sayinge. Well,
quod the Cardinall, yet it were harde to
judge withoute a proffe, whether this
order would do wel here or no. But when
the sentence of death is geven, if than the
kinge shoulde commaunde execution to
be defferred and spared, & would prove
this order and fassion: takinge awaye
the priviliges of all saintuaries: if then
the proffe shoulde declare the thinge to

be good and profitable, than it were wel done that it were stablished: els the condemned & reprivid persons may as wel and as justly be put to death after this profe, as when they were first cast. Neither any jeoperdie can in the meane space growe herof. Yea, and me thynketh that these vagaboundes may very wel be ordered after the same fashion, against whom we have hitherto made so manye lawes, and so little prevailed. When the Cardinall had thus saide, than every man gave greate praise to my sayinges, whiche a little before they had disallowed. But moost of al was esteemed that which was spoken of vagaboundes, because it was the Cardinalles owne addition.

DAN not tell whether it were best to reherse the communication that folowed, for it was not very sad. But yet you shall heare it, for there was no evil in it, and partlye it pertained to the matter before saide. There chaunced to stand by a certein jesting parasite, or scoffer, which wold seme to resemble and counterfeit the foole. But he did in such wise counterfeit, that he

was almost the very same in dede that The first
he labored to represent: he so studied booke of
with wordes & sayinges brought furth
so out of time and place, to make sporte
and move laughter, that he himselfe was
oftener laughed at then his jestes were.
Yet the foolishe fellowe brought out now
and then such indifferent and reasonable
stiffe, that he made the proverbe true,
which saieth: He that shoteth oft, at the
last shal hit the mark. So that when
one of the company sayd, that throughe
my communication a good order was
founde for theves, and that the Cardinal
also had wel provided for vagaboundes,
so that only remained some good provi-
sion to be made for them that through
sicknes and age were fallen into povertie,
and were become so impotent and un-
weldie, that they were not hable to worke
for their livinge: Tushe, quod he, let me
alone with them: you shall se me do well
ynough with them. for I had rather then
any good, that this kinde of people were
driven sumwher oute of my sight, they
have so sore troubled me manye times
and ofte, when they have wyth their la-

Sick, aged,
impotent
persons &
beggars

mentable teares begged money of me: & yet they coulde never to my mynde so tune their songe, that thereby they ever got of me one farthinge,  for ever more the one of these two chaunced: either that I would not, or els that I could not, bicause I had it not. Therfore now they be waxed wise. for when they see me go by, bicause they will not leese theyr la-bour, they let me passe and saye not one worde to me. So they loke for nothinge of me, no in good sothe, no more then yf I were a priest or a monke. But I will make a lawe, that all these beggers shall be distributed, & bestowed into houses of religion  The men shalbe made laye brethren, as they call them, & the women nunnes  Hereat the Cardinal smiled, & allowed it in jest, yea & all the residue in good earnest. But a certeine freare, gra-duate in divinitie, toke suche pleasure & delite in this jeste of priestes & monkes, that he also beyng elles a man of grislie and sterne gravitie, began merilie and wantonlye to jeste and taunt  Naye, quod he, you shall not so be ridde and dispatched of beggers, oneles you make

some provision also for us frears. Why,
quod the jester, that is done alreadie, for
my lord him selfe set a verye good order
for you, when he decreed that vaga-
boundes should be kept straite, & set to
worke: for you be the greatest & veriest
vagaboundes that be. This jest also,
when they sawe the Cardinall not dis-
prove it, every man toke it gladly, savyng
onelye the frear. for he (and that no mar-
veile) beynge thus touched on the quicke,
and hit on the gaule, so fret, so fumed, &
chafed at it, & was in such a rage, that he
could not refrain himselfe from chidinge,
skolding, railing, and reviling. He called
the fellow ribbalde, villaine, javel, back-
biter, sclauderer, and the childe of per-
dition: citinge therwith terrible threaten-
inges out of holie scripture. Then the
jestynge scoffer beganne to playe the
scoffer in dede, & verely he was good at
that, for he could play a part in that play,
no man better. Patient youre selfe good
maister freare, quod he, & be not angrie,
for scripture saieth: in youre patience you
shall save your soules. Then the freare
(for I will rehearse his own very woordes)

The first
booke of
Utopia

The first
booke of
Utopia

Talke qua-
lified ac-
cording to
the person
that speak-
eth

No gallous wretche, I am not angrie,
quod he, or at the leaste wise, I do not
sinne: for the psalmiste saith, be you
angrie, and sinne not.  Then the Cardi-
nal spake gently to the freare, & desired
him to quiete himselfe. No my lord, quod
he, I speake not but of a good zeale as I
oughte: for holye men had a good zeale.
Wherfore it is sayd: the zeale of thy
house hath eaten me. And it is songe in
the church, The skorners of Helizeus,
whiles he went up into the house of God,
felte the zeale of the bald; as peradven-
ture this skorning villaine ribaulde shall
feele.  You do it, quod the Cardinall,
perchaunce of a good mynde and affec-
tion: but me thinketh you should do, I
can not tell whether more holilie, certes
more wisely, yf you woulde not set youre
witte to a fooles witte, and with a foole
take in hande a foolish contention.  No forsoeth my lorde, quod he, I shoulde
not do more wyselye. for Salomon the
wyse saieth: Answeres a foole accordinge
to his folye, like as I do nowe, & do shew
him the pit that he shall fall into, yf he
take not hede. for if many skorners of

Helizeus, whiche was but one bald man, felte the zeale of the balde, how muche more shall one skorner of many frears feele, amonge whom be manye balde men? And we have also the popes bulles, whereby all that mocke and skorne us be excommunicate, suspended, & acursed. ¶ The cardinal, seing that none ende would be made, sent awaie the jester by a prevy becke, and turned the communiation to an other matter. Shortly after, when he was risen from the table, he went to heare his sueters, & so dismissed us.



ooke maister More wyth how longe & tedious a tale I have kept you, whiche surely I woulde have bene ashamed to have done, but that you so earnestly desired me, & did after such a sorte geve eare unto it, as though you woulde not that any parcel of that communication should be left out. Whiche, thoughe I have done sumwhat briefly, yet could I not chuse but rehearse it, for the judgemente of them, whiche when they had improved and disallowed my sayinges, yet incontinent

hearynge the Cardinall allowe them, dyd
themselves also approve the same: so
impudently flattering him, that they wer
nothing ashamed to admitte, yea al-
moste in good earnest, his jesters folish
inventions: bicause that he him selfe by
smiling at them did seme not to disprove
them. So that herby you may right wel
perceave how litle the courtiers woulde
regarde and esteme me & my sayinges.



ENSURE you maister Raphaell, quod I, I toke greate
delectacion in hearing you; all thinges that you saide
were spoken so wittilye and
so pleasauntly.  And me
thought me selfe to be in the meane time,
not onelye at home in my countrei, but also
through the pleasaunt remembraunce
of the Cardinal, in whose house I was
broughte up of a childe, to waxe a child
againe. And frend Raphaell, though I did
beare verye greate love towardes you be-
fore, yet seyng you do so earnestlye
favour this man, you wyll not beleve
howe muche my love towardes you is
nowe increased. But yet, all this notwith-
s

standinge, I can by no meanes chaunge
my mind, but that I must nedes beleve,
that you, if you be disposed, and can
fynde in youre hearte to followe some
princes courte, shall with your good
counselles greatlye helpe & further the
commen wealth. Wherfore there is no-
thyngemore apperteining to youre dew-
ty, that is to saye, to the dewtie of a good
man. For where as your Plato judgeth
that weale publiques shall by this meanes
atteyne perfecte felicitie, eyther if phi-
losophers be kynges, or elles yf kynges
geve themselves to the studie of philo-
sophie, how farre I praye you, shall
commen wealthes then be frome thys
felicitie, yf philosophers wyll vouche-
saufe to enstruct kynges with their good
counsel?

HEY benot so unkinde, quod he,
but they woulde gladlye do it,
yea, manye have done it alreadye
in bookes that they have put furthe, if
kynges and princes would be willynge
and readye to folowe good counsell. But
Plato doubtlesse dyd well foresee, ones-
lesse kynges themselves woulde applye

The
frenche-
men privi-
lie be coun-
seled from
the desire
of Italie

their mindes to the studye of philosophie, that elles they woulde never thoroughlye allowe the counsellof philosophers, beyng themselves before even from their tender age, infected and corrupt with perverse and evill opinions. Whiche thynge Plato hymselfe proved trewe in kinge Dionyse. If I shoulde propose to any kyng wholsome decrees, dovskyng my endevoure to plucke out of hys mynde the pernicious originall causes of vice and noughtines, thinke you not that I shoulde furthewith either be driven awaye, or elles made a laughyng stocke? Well, suppose I were with the frenche kynge, & there syttinge in his counsell, whiles in that mooste secrete consultation, the kynge him selfe there beyng presente in hys owne personne, they beate their braynes, and serche the verye bottomes of their wittes, to discusse by what crafte and meanes the kynge maye styl kepe Myllayne, and drawe to him againe fugitive Naples, and then howe to conquere the Venetians, and howe to bringe under his jurisdiction all Italie, then howe to win the dominion of flaunders,

Brabant, and of all Burgundie; with divers other landes, whose kingdomes he hath longe ago in mind and purpose invaded. Here, whiles one counselleth to conclude a legue of peace with the Venetians, so longe to endure as shall be thought mete & expedient for their purpose, & to make them also of their counsell, yea, and besides that to geve them part of the pray, whiche afterwarde, when they have brought theyr purpose about after their owne myndes, they maye require & clayme againe. Another thinketh best to hiere the Germaynes. An other woulde have the favoure of the Swychers wonne with money. An others advyse is to appease the puissaunte power of the Emperoures majestie wyth golde, as with a moste pleasaunte, and acceptable sacrifice. Whiles an other gyveth counsell to make peace wyth the kynge of Arragone, and to restoore unto him hys owne kyngedome of Navarra, as a full assurance of peace. Another commeth in with his five egges, and adviseth to hooke in the kynge of Castell with some hope of affinitie or alyaunce, & to bringe to their

The first
booke of
Utopia

Launce
knights

parte certeine pieers of his courte for
greate pensions. Whiles they all staye at
the chiefeste doubte of all, what to do in
the meane time with Englande; and yet
agree all in this, to make peace with the
Englishmen, and with mooste suer and
stronge bandes to bynde that weake and
feable frendeshippe, so that they muste
be called frendes, & hadde in suspicionas
emyes. And that therfore the Skottes
muste be hadde in a readines, as it were
in a standynge, readie at all occasions, in
aunters the Englishmen shoulde sturre
never so lytle, incontinent to set upon
them. And moreover previlie & secretlye
(for openlie it maye not be done by the
truce that is taken) privelie therefore I
saye, to make muche of some piere of
Englande, that is bannished hys coun-
trey, whiche muste cleime title to the
crownē of the realme, & affirme hym selfe
juste inherytoure thereof, that by this
subtill meanes they maye holde to them
the kinge, in whome elles they have but
small truste and affiaunce.

ERE I saye, where so great and
heyghe matters be in consulta-
tion, where so manye noble and
wyse menne counsell theyr kynge onelie
to warre, here, yf I selie man shoulde rise
vp and will them to tourne over the leafe,
& learne a newe lesson, sayinge that my
counsell is not to medle with Italy, but
to tarye styll at home, & that the kynge-
dome of fraunce alone is almooste greater
then that it maye well be governed of
one man: so that the kynge shoulde not
nede to studye howe to gette more; and
then shoulde propose unto them the de-
crees of the people that be called the
Achoriens, whiche be situate over a-
gaynste the Ilande of Utopia on the
southeaste side. These Achoriens ones
made warre in their kinges quarrell for to
gette him another kingdome, whiche he
laide claime unto, and avaunced hymselfe
ryghte inheritous to the crowne thereof,
by the tytle of an olde aliaunce. At the
last when they had gotten it, and sawe
that they hadde even as muche vexation
and trouble in kepynge it, as they had in
gettynge it, and that either their newe

The first
booke of
Utopia

A notable
example,
and wor-
thy to be
folowed

conquered subjectes by sundrye occasions were makyng daylye insurrections to rebell againste them, or els that other countreis were continuallie with divers inrodes and forragynges invadyng them; so that they were ever fighting either for them, or agaynste them, and never coulde breake up theyr campes. Seynge them selves in the meane season pylled & impoverished: their money carried out of the realme: their own men killed to maintaine the glorye of an other nation: when they had no warre, peace nothyng better then warre, by reason that their people in war had so inured themselves to corrupte and wicked manners, that they had taken a delite & pleasure in robbing & stealing: that through manslaughter they had gathered boldnes to mischiefe: that their lawes were had in contempte, and nothing set by or regarded: that their king beyng troubled with the charge and governaunce of two kingdomes, could not nor was not hable perfectlie to discharge his office towardes them both: seing againe that all these evelles & troubles were endles:

at the laste layde their heades together, and like faithfull and lovinge subjectes gave to their kynge free choise & libertie to kepe stylly the one of these two kingdomes, whether he would: alleginge that he was not hable to kepe both, and that they weremothen might well be governed of halfe a king: forasmuche as no man woulde be content to take him for his mulettour, that kepeth an other mans moyles besydes his. So this good prince was constreyned to be content with his olde kyngedom, & to geve over thenewe to one of his frendes, who shortelye after was violentlie driven out. Furthermore if I shoulde declare unto them, that all this busie preparaunce to warre, wherby so many nations for his sake should be broughte into a troublesome hurleiburley, when all his coffers were emptied, his treasures wasted, and his people destroied, should at the length through some mischance be in vaine and to none effect: and that therfore it were best for him to content him selfe with his owne kyngedom of fraunce, as his forfathers and predecessours did before him: to

make much of it, to enrich it, & to make it as flourisshing as he could, to endevoure him selfe to love his subjectes, & againe to be beloved of them, willingly to live with them, peaceably to governe them, and with other kyngdomes not to medle, seinge that whiche he hath all reddy is even ynoughe for him, yea and more then he can wel turne hym to: this myneadyse maister More, how thinke you it would be harde and taken?  So God helpeme, not very thankefully, quod I.

WE L let us procede then, quod he. Suppose that some kyng and his counsel were together whettinghe their wittes & devisinge what subtell crafte they myght invente to enryche the kinge with greate treasures of money. first one counselleth to rayse & enhaunce the valuation of money when the kinge must paye anye: and agayne to calle downe the value of coyne to lesse then it is worthe, when he muste receive or gather any. for thus great sommes shalbe payde wyth a lytyl money, and where lytle is due muche shalbe receaved. Another counselleth to fayne warre, that

Enhaun-
cyng and
imbasyng
of coynes

Counter-
fayte
warres

when under this colore and pretence the kyng hath gathered greate aboundaunce of money, he maye, when it shall please him, make peace with greate solemnitie and holye ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore communaltie, as taking pitie and compassion forsothe upon mans bloude, lyke a loving & a mercifull prince.

An other putteth the kynge in remembraunce of certeine olde & moughteaten lawes, that of longe tyme have not bene put in execution, whych because no man can remembre that they were made, everie man hath transgressed. The fynes of these lawes he counselleth the kynge to require: for there is no waye so proffitable, nor more honorable, as the whyche hathe a shewe and colore of justice. An other advyseth him to forbidde manye thinges under greate penalties and fines, specially suche thinges as is for the peoples profit not be used, and afterwarde to dispence for money with them whyche by this prohibition substeyne losse and damage. for by this meanes the favour of the people is wonne, and proffiteriseth two wayes. first by takinge forfaytes of

The first booke of Utopia

The renewing of olde lawes

Re-strayntes

them whome covetousnes of gaynes hath brought in daunger of this statute, and also by sellinge privileges and licences, whyche the better that the prince is forsothe, the deerer he selleth them: as one that is lothe to graunte to any private persone, anye thinge that is againste the proffite of his people. And therefore maye sel none but at an exceeding dere pryce. Another giveth the kynge counsel to endaunger unto his grace the judges of the realme, that he maye have them ever on his side, and that they maye in everye matter despite and reason for the kynges right. Yea & further to call them into his palace and to require them there to argue and discusse his matters in his owne presence. So there shal be no matter of his so openlye wronge and unjuste, wherein one or other of them, either because he wyl have sumthinge to allege & objecte, or that he is ashamed to saye that whiche is sayde alreadye, or els to pike a thanke with his prince, will not fynde some hole open to set a snare in, wherewith to take the contrarie parte in a trippe. Thus whiles the judges cannot agree a-

monges them selfes, reasoninge and
arguynge of that which is playne enough,
and bringinge the manifest trewthe in
dowte; in the meane season the kinge
maye take a fyt occasion to understand
the lawe as shal moste make for his ad-
vauntage, whereunto al other, for shame
or for feare, wil agree. Then the judges
may be bolde to pronounce on the kynges
side. For he that geveth sentence for the
king, cannot be without a good excuse.
for it shalbe sufficient for him to have
equitie on his part, or the bare wordes of
the lawe, or a wrythen & wrested under-
standinge of the same, or els, whiche
with good and just judges is of greater
force then all lawes be, the kynges indis-
putable prerogative. To conclude, al the
counsellours agre and consent together
with the ryche Crassus, that no abund-
ance of gold can be sufficient for a prince,
which muste kepe & maynteyne an armie:
furthermore, that a kynge, thoughe he
would, can do nothinge unjustlye. for
all that all men have, yea also the men
them selfes, be all his; and that every
man hath so much of his owne, as the

The first
booke of
Utopia

The sayyng
of riche
Crassus

kynges gentilnes hath not taken from hym. And that it shalbe moste for the kinges advantage, that his subjectes have very lytle or nothinge in their possession, as whosesavegardedotheherein consiste, that his people doe not waxe wanton and wealthie through riches and libertie, because where these thinges be, there men benotwonte patiently to obeye harde, unjuste, and unlawefull commaundementes. Where as on the other part, neade & povertie doth holde downe and kepe under stowte courages, & maketh them patient perforce, takynge from them bolde and rebellynge stomakes. Here agayne if I shoulde ryse up, & bolde-
lye affirme that all these counselles be to the kinge dishonoure & reproche, whose honoure and safetye is more and rather supported and upholden by the wealth and ryches of his people, then by hys owne treasures: and if I should declare that the comminaltie chueseth their king for their owne sake, and not for his sake: to the intent, that through his laboure and studie they might al live wealthily, sauffe from wronges and injuries: and

that therfore the kynge ought to take The first
more care for the wealthe of his people, booke of
then for his owne wealthe, even as the of-
fice & dewtie of a shephearde is, in that
he is a shepherde, to feede his sheperath-
er than himselfe.

HOR as towchinge this, that they
thinke the defence and maynten-
aunce of peace to consiste in the
povertie of the people, the thing it selfe
sheweth that they be farre out of the
waye. for where shal a man finde more
wrangling, quarelling, brawling, and
chiding, then among beggers? Who
be more desierous of newe mutations &
alterations, then they that be not con-
tent with the present state of their lyfe?
Or finallye who be bolder stomaked to
bringe all in a hurlieburlye (therby trust-
inge to get some windfall) then they that
have nowe nothinge to leese?

AND yf any kyng were so smally re-
garded, and so lightly esteemed,
yea so behated of his subjectes,
that otherwayes he could not kepe them
in awe, but onlye by open wronges, by
pollinge and shavinge, and by bringinge

Povertye
the mother
of debate
& decai of
realmes

them to beggerie, sewerly it were better for him to forsake his kingedome, then to holde it by this meanes: whereby, though the name of a king be kepte, yet the majestie is lost. for it is againste the dignitie of a kynge to have rule over beggers, but rather over ryche and welthie men. Of this mynde was the hardie and couragius fabrice, when he sayde, that he had rather be a ruler of riche men, then be ryche himselfe. And verelye, one man to live in pleasure and wealth whyles all other wepe and smarte for it, that is the parte, not of a kynge, but of a jayler. To be shorte, as he is a folyshe phisition that cannot cure his patientes disease onles he caste him in an other syckenes, so he that cannot amend the lives of his subjectes, but by taking from them the wealthe & commoditie of lyfe, he muste nedes graunte that he knoweth not the feate how to governe men. But let him rather amende his owne lyfe, renounce un honest pleasures, and forsake pride. for these be the chiefe vices that cause hym to runne in the contempte or hatred of his people. Let him lyue of hys owne,

hurtinge no man. Let him doe cost not above his power. Let him restreynewyck, ednes. Let him prevente vices, and take awaye the occasions of offenses by well orderynge hys subjectes, & not by sufferynge wickednes to increase, afterward to be punyshed. Let hym not be to hastie in callynge agayne lawes, whyche a custome hathe abrogated: specially suche as have bene longe forgotten, and never lacked nor neaded. And let hym never under the cloke and pretence of transgression take suche fynes & forfaytes, as no judge wyll suffre a private persone to take, as unjuste and ful of gile.

The first
booke of
Utopia

FERE if I should brynge forth before them the lawe of the Macariens, which be not farre distaunt from Utopia: whose kynge the daye of hys coronation is bounde by a solempne othe, that he shall never at anye time have in hys treasure above a thousande pounde of golde or sylver. They saye a verye good kynge, whiche toke more care for the wealthe and commoditye of his countrey, then for thenriching of him selfe, made this lawe, to be a stop & a barre

A straunge
& notable
lawe of the
Macariens

to kinges from heaping & hording up so
muche money as might impovertyshe
their people. for he forswaue that this
som of treasure woulde suffice to sup-
porte the kynge in battaile against his
owne people, if they shoulde chaunce to
rebell; and also to mainteine his warres
againste the invasions of his forreyn
enemies. Againe he perceived the same
stocke of money to be to litle & unsuffi-
cient to encourage & enhable him wrong-
fullye to take away other mens goodes:
whyche was the chiefe cause whie the lawe
was made. An other cause was this. He
thought that by this provision, his peo-
ple shoulde not lacke money wherewith
to mayneteyne their dayly occupieng and
chaffayre. And seynge the kynge could
not chewse but laye out and bestowe al
that came in above the prescript some of
his stocke, he thought he woulde sekeno
occasions to doe his subjectes injurie.
Suche a kynge shalbe feared of evel men,
and loved of good men. These, & suche
other informations, yf I shoulde use a-
mong men wholye inclined and geven to
the contrarye part, how deaffe hearers
thynke you should I have?

DEAffE hearers douteles, quod I,
& in good faith no marveyle. And
to be plaine with you, truelye I can
not allowe that suche communication
shalbe used, or suche counsell geven, as
you be suere shall never be regarded nor
receaved. for howe can so straunge infor-
mations be profitable, or how can they be
beaten into their headdes, whose myndes
be allredye prevented with cleane con-
trarye persuasions ? This schole phil-
osophie is not unpleasaunte amonge
frendes in familiare communication, but
in the counselles of kinges, where greate
matters be debated and reasoned with
greate authoritye, these thinges have no
place.

Schole phi-
losophye in
the consul-
tations of
princes
hath no
place

GHAT is it whiche I mente, quod
he, when I sayde philosophye
hadde no place amonge kinges.
In dede, quod I, this schole philosophie
hath not, which thinketh all thinges mete
for every place. But there is an other phil-
osophye more civile, whyche knoweth,
as yewolde say, her owne stage, & there-
after orderynge & behavinge hereselfe in
the playe that she hathe in hande, play-

The first
booke of
Atopia

A fine and
a fitte si-
militude

A dumme
plaier

ethe her parte accordingelye with com-
lyenes, utteringe nothinge oute of dewe
ordre & fassyon. And this is the philoso-
phye that you muste use. Or els, whyles
a commodye of Plautus is playinge, and
the vyle bondemen skoffynge & tryffel-
inge amonge themselves, yf you shoulde
sodenlye come upon the stage in a phil-
osopers apparrell, and reherse oute of
Octavia the place wherein Seneca dis-
puteth with Nero: had it not bene better
for you to have played the domme per-
sone, then by rehersynge that whych
served neither for the tyme nor place, to
have made suche a tragycall comedye or
gallymalfreye? for by bryngynge in oth-
er stufte that nothing apperteynethe to
the presente matter, you must nedes
marre & pervert the play that is in hand,
thoughe the stufte that you bringe be
muche better. What part soever you have
taken upon you, playe that as wel as you
can and make the best of it: and doe not
therefore disturbe and brynge out of
ordre the whole matter, bycause that an
other, whyche is meryer and better, cum-
meth to your remembraunce. So the

case standeth in a common wealthe, and The first
so it is in the consultations of kynges booke of
& prynces. Yf evel opinions & noughty
persuasions can not be utterly and quyte
plucked out of their hartes, if you can not
even as you wolde remedy vices which
use and custome hath confirmed, yet for
this cause you muste not leave and for-
sake the common wealthe: you muste
not forsake the shippe in a tempeste, be-
cause you can not rule & kepe downe the
wyndes. No, nor you muste not laboure to
dryve into their heades newe & straunge
informations, whyche you knowe wel
shalbe nothinge regarded wyth them
that be of cleane contrary mindes.  But
you must with a crafty wile and a subtell
trayne studye & endevoure youre selfe,
asmuche as in you lyethe, to handle the
matter wyttelye & handesomelye for the
purpose, and that whyche you can not
turne to good, so to order it that it be
not verye badde. for it is not possible
for al thinges to be well, onles all men
were good; whych I thinke wil not be yet
thies good many yeares.

BY this meanes, quod he, nothing
elles wyl be brought to passe, but
whyles that I goe aboute to reme-
dye the madnes of others, I shoulde be
even as madde as they. For if I wolde
speake thinges that be trewe, I muste
neades speake suchethinges: but as for
to speake false thinges, whether that
be a philosophers parte or no, I can not
tel; truelye it is not my part. Howebeit
this communication of mine, though
peradventure it maye seme unpleaunte
to them, yet can I not see why it shoulde
seme straunge, or folishely newfangled.

If so be that I should speake those
thinges that Plato faynethe in his weale
publique, or that the Utopians doe in
theires, these thinges though they were
(as they be in dede) better, yet they
myghte seme spoken oute of place. for
asmuche as here amonges us, everye man
hathe his possessions severall to him
selfe, and there all thinges be common.

BUT what was in my communica-
tion conteyned, that mighte not,
and oughte not in anye place to be
spoken? Savynge that to them whyche

have throughlye decreeed and determined with themselves to runne hedlonges the contrary waye, it can not be acceptable and plesaunt, because it calleth them backe, and sheweth them the jeopardies. Verilye yf all thynges that evel and vitiouse maners have caused to seme inconveniente and noughe, should be refusid, as thinges unmete and reprochefull, then we must among christen people wynke at the moste parte of al those thinges, whych Christ taught us, and so streitly forbad them to be winked at, that those thinges also whiche he whispered in the eares of his disciples he commaunded to be proclaimed in open houses. And yet the most parte of them is more dissident from the maners of the world nowe a dayes, then my communication was. But preachers, slie & wilie men, followynge youre counsel (as I suppose) bicause they saw men evelwilling to frame theyr manners to Christes rule, they have wrested & wriede his doctryne, and like a rule of leade have applyed it to mennes manners: that by some meanes at the leaste waye, they myght agree to-

gether. Whereby I cannot see what good they have done: but that men maye more sickerlye be evell. And I truelye shoulde prevaile even as little in kinges counselles. for either I muste saye otherwayes then they saye, & then I were as good to saye nothinge, or els I muste saye the same that they saye, and (as Mitio saieth in Terence) helpe to further their madnes. for that craftye wyle, and subtil traine of yours, I can not perceave to what purpose it serveth, wherewith you wolde have me to study & endevoure my selfe, yf all thinges can not be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handsomely for the purpose, that as farre forth as is possible, they may not be very evel  for there is no place to dissemble in, nor to wincke in. Noughtye counselles muste be openlye allowed & verye pestilent decrees muste be approved  He shalbe counted worse then a spye, yea almoste as evel as a traytour, that with a faynte harte doth prayse evel and noyesome decrees. Moreover a man canne have no occasion to doe good, chaunsinge into the compayne of them whych wyl soner per-

verte a good man, then be made good
them selfes: through whose evel com- The first
pany he shalbe marred, or els if he re- booke of
mayne good & innocent, yet the wicked- Utopia
nes and follye of others shalbe imputed
to hym, and layde in his necke. So that
it is impossible with that craftye wyele,
and subtel trayne to turneanye thinge to
better.

HEREFOR^E Plato by a good, lye similitude, declareth why wise men refraine to medle in the common wealthe. for when they see the people swarne into the stretes, and daily wet to the skinne with rayne, & yet can not persuade them to goe out of the rayne, & to take their houses, knowynge wel, that if they should goe out to them, they should nothinge prevayle, nor wynne ought by it, but with them be wette also in theraine, they do kepe them selfes within their houses, being content that they be saffe them selves, seinge they cannot remedye the follye of the people.

HOWE be it, doubtlesse maister More (to speke truelye as my mynde geveth me) where posses-

sions be private, where money bearethe
all the stroke, it is harde and almoste im-
possible, that there the weale publique
maye justelye be governed, and prosper-
ouslye floryshe. Onles you thinke thus:
that justyce is there executed, where all
thinges come into the handes of evelmen,
or that prosperitye there floryssheth,
where all is divided amonge a fewe:
whychefewe neverthelesse doe not leade
theire lives very wealthely, and the resy-
dewe lyve myserablye, wretchedlye, and
beggerlye.

HEREFORē when I consyder
with my selfe and weye in my
mynde, the wyse & godlye ordi-
naunces of the Utopians, amonge whome
with verye few lawes al thinges be so wel
& wealthelye ordered, that vertue is had
in pryce and estimation, & yet all thinges
beinge there common, everye man hath
aboundaunce of everye thinge. Againe
on the other part, when I compare with
them so manye nations ever makinge
newe lawes, yet none of them all well & suf-
ficientlye furnysshed with lawes: where
everye man calleth that he hathe gotten,

his owne proper and private goodes, where so many newe lawes daylye made be not sufficiente for everye man to en-
joye, defend, and knowe from an other mans that whych he calleth his owne: which thinge the infinite controversies in the lawe, daylye rysynge, never to be end-
ed, playnly declare to be trewe. These thinges, I say, when I consider with me selfe, I holde wel with Plato, and doeno-
thinge marveille that he woulde make no lawes for them that refused those lawes whereby all men shoulde have and enjoye equall portions of welthes and commo-
dities. For the wise man did easely fore-
see this to bee the one and onlye waye to the wealthe of a communaltye, yf equali-
tye of all thinges should be broughte in and stablyshed; whyche I thinke is not possible to be observed where everye mans gooddes be proper and peculiare to him selfe. For where everye man under certeyne tytles & pretences draweth and plucketh to himselfe as much as he can, so that a fewe devide among them selfes all the whole riches, be there never so muche abundaunce and stoore, there to

The first
booke of
Utopia

Plato
wylded al
thinges in
a commen
wealth to
be commen

the residewe is lefte lacke, and povertye. And for the moste parte it chaunceth, that this latter sorte is more worthye to enjoye that state of wealth, then the other be: bycause theychemen be covetous, craftye, and unprofitable. On the other parte the poore be lowly, simple, and by theire daylye laboure more profit-able to the common welthe then to them-selfes.

HUS I doe fullye persuade me selfe, that no equall & juste distribution of thinges can be made, nor that perfecte wealthe shall ever be among men, onles this propriety be ex-iled and bannished. But so long as it shal continew, so long shall remaine among the most and best part of men the hevy, and inevitable burden of poverty and wretchednes. Whiche, as I graunte that it maye be sumwhat eased, so I utterly denye that it can wholy be taken away. for if there were a statute made, that no man should possesse above a certeine measure of grounde, and that no man shoulde have in his stocke above a pre-scripte and appointed some of money:

if it were by certain lawes decreed, that
neither the kinge shoulde be of to greate
power, neither the people to haute and
wealthy, & that offices shoulde not be ob-
tained by inordinate suite, or by brybes
and gyftes: that they shoulde neither be
bought nor sold, nor that it shoulde be
nedeful for the officers to be at any cost
or charge in their offices: for so occasion
is geven to theym by fraude and ravin to
gather up their money againe, & by rea-
son of giftes and bribeis the offices be
geven to rich men, which shoulde rather
have bene executed of wise men: by such
lawes I say, like as sicke bodies that be
desperat & past cure, be wont with con-
tinual good cherissing to be kept and
botched up for a time: so these evels also
might be lightened and mitigated. But
that thei may be perfectly cured, and
brought to a good and upryght state, it
is not to be hoped for, whiles every man
is maister of his owne to himselfe. Yea
and whyles you goe aboute to doe youre
cure of one parte, you shall make bygger
the sore of an other parte, so the healpe
of one causeth anothers harme: foras-

The first
booke of
Utopia

muche as nothinge can be geven to annye
one, onles it be taken from an other.



UT I am of a contrary opinion, quod I, for me thinketh that men shal never therelive wealthelye, where all thinges be commen. for howe can there be abundance of gooddes or of anything, where every man withdraweth his hande from labour? Whome the regarde of his owne gaines driveth not to worke, but the hope that he hath in other mens travayles maketh him slowthfull. Then when they be pricked with povertye, and yet no man can by any lawe or right defend that for his owne which he hathe gotten with the laboure of his owne handes, shal not there of necessitie be continual sedition and blodeshed? Speciallye the authoritye and reverence of magistrates beinge taken awaye, whiche, what place it maye have with such men amonge whome is no difference, I cannot devise.



MARVEL not, quod he,
that you be of this opinion
for you conceive in youre
minde either none at al, or
els a verye false image and
similitude of this thing.

The first
booke of
Utopia

But yf you had bene with me in Utopia,
& had presentelye sene theire fasshions
and lawes, as I dyd, whyche lived there
v. yeares, and moore, & wolde never have
commen thence, but onlye to make that
new lande knownen here, then doubtles
you wolde graunt, that you never sawe
people wel ordered, but onlye there.

SURELY, quod maister Peter, it
shalbe harde for you to make me
believe, that there is better order
in that newe lande then is here in these
countryes, that wee knowe  for good
wittes be as wel here as there: & I thinke
our commen welthes be auncienter than
theires: wherein long use and experience
hath found out many thinges commodi-
ous for mannes lyfe, besides that manye
thinges heare among us have bene found
by chaunce, whiche no wytte coulde ever
have devysed.



S touchinge the auncient-nes, quod he, of common wealthes, than you might better judge, if you had red the histories & cronicles of that land, which if we may beleve, cities were there, before men were here. Nowe what thinge soever hetherto by witte hath bene deuised, or found by chaunce, that myght be as wel there as here. But I thinke verily, though it were so that we did passe them in witte: yet in study, in travaile, and in laboursome endevoure they farre passe us. for (as theire chronicles testifie) before our arri- val there, they never had any thing of us, whome they cal the ultraequinoctialles: saving that ones about M.CC. yeares ago, a certeine shyppe was lost by the Ile of Utopia whiche was driven thether by tem- pest. Certeine Romaines & Egyptians were cast on lande. Whyche after that ne- ver wente thence. Marke now what profite they tooke of this one occasion through delygence and earneste travaile. There was no crafte nor scyence within the im- pire of Rome wheroft any proffite could

rise, but they either lerned it of these
straungers, or els of them taking occa-
sion to searche for it, founde it oute. So
greate proffite was it to them that ever
anye wente thyther from hence.  But
yf annye like chaunce before this hath
brought anye man from thence hether,
that is as quyte out of remembraunce,
as this also perchaunce in time to come
shalbe forgotten, that ever I was there.
And like as they quickelye, almoste at the
first meting, made theire owne, what so
ever is amonge us wealthelye devised: so
 I suppose it wolde be long before we
wolde receave anythinge that amonge
them is better instituted then amonge us.
 And this I suppose is the chiefe cause
whie theire common wealthes be wyse-
lyer governed, and doe flourish in more
wealthe then ours, though we neither in
wytte nor riches be their inferiours.

The first
booke of
Utopia

 HEREFORgentle Maister Ra-
phael, quod I, I praye you and be-
seche you, describe unto us the
ilande. And study not to be shorte: but
declare largely in order, their groundes,
their rivers, their cities, theire people,

theire manners, their ordinaunces, their lawes, and to be short al thinges that you shal thinke us desierous to knowe. And you shal thinke us desierous to know what soever we knowe not yet.

HERE is nothing, quod he, that I wil doe gladlier for all these thinges I have freshe in mind. But the matter requireth leasure. Let us go in therfore, quod I, to dinner, afterward we wil bestowe the time at our pleasure. Content, quod he, be it.



Owe went in & dyned. When dinner was done, we came into the same place again, & sate us downe upon the same benche, commaunding oure servauntes that no man should trouble us. Then I & Maister Peter Giles desiered Maister Raphael to performe his promise. He therefore seeing us desirous and willing to harken to him, when he had sit stil and paused a litle while, musinge & bethinkinge himselfe, thus he began to speake.

The end of the firste booke.

The seconde booke of the communication
of Raphael Hythlodaye, concernyng the
best state of a common wealthe; con-
teyninge the discription of Utopia, with
a large declaration of the politike gov-
ernement, and of all the good lawes and
orders of the same Ilande. *

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia



HE Iland of Uto-
pia, conteynethe
in breadthe in the
middel parte of it
(for there it is bro-
dest) C.C. miles.
Which bredthe con-
tinueth throughe
the moste parte of
the lande, saving
that by little & little it commeth in, & wax-
eth narrower towardes both the endes.
Which fetching about a circuite or com-
passee of V.C. miles, do fassion the whole
Iland like to the newmone. Betwene these
two corners the sea runneth in, dividynge
them a sonder by the distaunce of xi miles
or there aboutes, & there surmountethe
into a large and wyde sea, which by reason
that the land on every side compassethe

The site
& fashion
of the
newe y-
lande U-
topia

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

A place
naturally
fenced ne-
deth but
one garri-
son

it about, & shiltreth it from the windes, is not roughe, nor mounteth not with great waves, but almost floweth quietlye, not muche unlike a greate standinge powle: and maketh welnieghe all the space with, in the bellye of the lande in maner of a haven: and to the great commoditie of the inhabitauntes receaveth in shypes towardes everye parte of the lande. The forefrontes or frontiers of the ii corners, what with fordes and shelves, and what with rockes, beverye jeoperdous & daungerous. In the middle distaunce betwene them bothe standeth up above the water a great rocke, which therfore is nothing perillous, bycause it is in sight. Upon the top of this rocke is a faire and a strong tower builded, which they holde with a garrison of men. Other rockes there be lyinge hidde under the water, which therfore be daungerous. The channelles be knownen onely to themselves, & therfore it seldom chaunceth that anye straunger, oneles he be guided by an Utopian, can come into this haven, in so muche that they themselves could skasely entre withoute jeoperdie, but that theire way is

directed & ruled by certaine lande markes standing on the shore. But turninge, translatinge, & removinge thies markes into other places, they maye destroye theire enemies navies, be they never so many. The outside or utter circuite of the land is also ful of havens, but the landing is so suerly fenced, what by nature, & what by workemanshyp of mans hand, that a few defenders maye dryve backe many armies. Howbeit as they saye, and as the fassion of the place it selfe dothe partly shewe, it was not ever compassed about with the sea. But kyng Utopus, whose name as conquerour the Iland beareth (for before his tyme it was called Abraxa) which also broughte the rude & wild people to that excellent perfection in al good fassions, humanitye, & civile gentilnes, wherin they nowe goe beyond al the people of the world: even at his firste arringe and enteringe upon the lande, furthwith obteynynge the victory, caus- ed xv myles space of uplandys he grounde where the sea had no passage, to be cut and dygged up, and so broughte the sea rounde aboute the lande. He set to this

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Apolitique
devise in
the chaun-
ging of
land
markes

The Ilande
of Utopia
so named
of king
Utopus

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Many
handes
make light
worke

Cities in
Utopia

Similitude
causeth
concorde

A meane
distaunce
betwene
cittie and
cittie

worke, not only the inhabitauntes of the Ilande (because they shold not thinke it done in contumelye & despyte) but also all his owne soldiours. Thus the worke beyng divided into so greate a numbre of workemen, was with exceedinge mar-velous sped dyspatched; in so muche that the borderers, whiche at the firste began to mocke, & to jeste at this vaine enterpryse, then turned theire derision to marveyle at the successe, and to feare.



HERE be in the Ilande liii large & faire cities, or shiere townes, agreyng all together in one tonge, in lykemans, institucions, & lawes. They be all set and situate a lyke, and in al poyntes fashioned alyke, as farforthe as the place or plotte suffereth.

Of these cities, they that be nighest together be xxiiii myles asunder. Againe there is none of them distaunte from the nexte above one dayes journeye a fote. There com yearly to Am- aurote out of every cytie iii olde men, wyse and well experienced, there to entreat &

The distri-
bution of
landes

But this
nowadaies
is the
grounde
of all mis-
cheife

Husban-
drie & til-
lage cheflye
and princi-
pally re-
garded &
advaunced

debate of the common matters of the lande. for this citie (because it standeth juste in the middes of the Ilande, and is therefore moste mete for the ambassadours of all partes of the realme) is taken for the chiefe and heade citye. The precinctes and boundes of the shieres be so commodiouslye appoynted oute, & set fourthe for the cities, that none of them all hathe of anye syde lesse then xx myles of grounde, & of some syde also muche more, as of that part where the cities be of farther distaunce asonder. None of the cities desire to enlarge the boundes & limites of theire shieres; for they counte them selfes rather the good husbandes then the owners of theire landes.

HEY have in the countrey, in all partes of the shiere, houses or fermes builded, wel appointed and furnyshed with all sortes of instrumentes & tooles belongyng to husbandrye. These houses be inhabited of the citezens, whyche come thether to dwelle by course. No howsholde or ferme in the countrey hath fewer then xl persones, men and women, besydes two bondmen,

whyche be all under the rule & order of the good man & the good wyfe of the house, beinge bothe verye sage, discrete, & aunciente persones. And every xxx fermes or families have one heade ruler, whyche is called a Philarche, being as it were a head baylyffe. Out of every one of these families or fermes commeth everye yeare into the citie xx persones whiche have continewed ij yeres before in the countreye. In theire place so manye freshe be sent thether oute of the citie, whoe, of them that haue bene there a yeare all readye, & be therfore expert and conninge in husbandry, shalbe instructed and taughte, & they the nexte yeare shall teache other. This order is used for feare that either skarsenes of victualles, or some other like incommoditie should chaunce, throughe lacke of knowledge ; yf they should be altogether newe, and freshe, and unexperete in husbandrie.

GHIS maner and fassion of yearelye chaunginge and renewinge the occupiers of husbandrye, though it be solempne & customablye used, to the intent that no man shall be constrainyd

againste his wil to contynewe longe in
that harde and sharpe kynde of lyfe, yet
manye of them have suche a pleasure &
delyte in husbandrye, that they obteyne
a longer space of yeares. These husband-
men plowe and til the ground, & breed up
cattel, & provide and make ready woode,
whyche they carrye to the citie either by
lande, or by water, as they maye moste
convenyently. They brynge up a greate
multitude of pulleyne, & that by a mer-
vaylouse polycye. for the hennes dooe
not sytte upon the egges: but by keep-
ynge theym in a certayne equall heate, they
bryngelyfe into them, and hatche theym.
The chykens, assone as they become oute
of the shel, follow men & women in steade
of the hennes. They brynge up verye
fewe horses: nor none but verye feare
ones: and that for none other use or pur-
pose, but onlye to exercyse theire youthe
in rydyng and feates of armes; for oxen
be put to all the laboure of plowyng and
drawinge: whiche they graunte to be not
so good as horses at a sodeyne brunte,
and (as we saye) at a deade lifte, but yet
they holde opinion, that oxen wil abide &

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The due-
ties of men
of husband-
drye

Astraunge
fassion in
hatchinge
& bringing
up of pul-
leyne

The use of
horses

The use of
oxen

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Bread and
drink

A great
discretion
in sowing
of corne

suffre muche more laboure, payne & hardnes, then horses wil. And they thinke that oxen be not in daunger and subject unto so many diseases, and that they be kepte and maintained with muche lesse coste & charge: and finallye that they be good for meate, when they be past laboure. They sowe corne onelye for breade. for their drinke is eyther wyne made of grapes, or els of apples, or peares, or els it is cleare water. And many times meathe, made of honey or licouresse sodde in water, for thereof they have great store. And though they knowe certeynlie (for they knowe it perfectly in dede) howe muche vitailes the citie wyth the whole countreye or shiere rounde aboute it doeth spende, yet they sowe muche more corne, and bryed up muche more cattell, then serveth for their owne use, partynge the over plus among their borderers. What soever necessarie thinges be lacking in the countrey, all suchestuffe they fetch out of the citie: where without any exchaunge they easelye obteyne it of the magistrates of the citie. for every moneth manie of them go into the citie on the holy daye. When

theyr harvest day draweth neare, and is at hande, then the Philarches, which be the head officers & bailifes of husbandrie, sende word to the magistrates of the citie what numbre of harvest men is nedefull to be sente to them oute of the citie; the whiche compayne of harvest men beyng readye at the daye appoynted, almost in one fayre daye dispacheth all the harvest woorke.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Mutual
helpe
quickely
dispatch-
eth

Of the cities & namely of Amaurote.



S for their cities, who so knoweth one of them knoweth them all: they be al so like one to another, as farre furthe as the nature of the place permitteth. I will describe therefore to you one or other of them, for it skilleth not greatly which: but which rather then Amaurote? Of them all, this is the worthiest and of most dignitie ; for the

resideu knowledge it for the head citie, because there is the counsell house. Nor to me anye of them all is better beloued, as wherin I lived five whole yeares together.



HE citie of Amaurote standeth upon the side of a lowe hill in fashyon almost foure square. for the breadth of it beginneth a litle beneth the toppe of the hill, & still continueth by the space of two miles, untill it come to the ryver of Anyder. The length of it, which lieth by the ryvers syde, is sumwhat more. The river of Anyder riseth four & twentie myles above Amaurote out of a litle springe. But beyng increased by other smale rivers & broukes that runne into it, and amonge other, two sumwhat bygge ons, before the citie it is halfe a mile broade, and farther broader. And fortie myles beyonde the citie it falleth into the ocean sea. By all that space that liethe betwene the sea and the citie, and certen myles also above the citie, the water ebbeth and floweth sixe houres together with a swift tide. Whan the sea

floweth in, for the length of thirtiemoiles it filleth all the Anyder with salte water, and driveth backe the freshe water of the ryver. And sumwhat further it chaungeth the swetenes of the freshe water with saltnes. But a little beyonde that, the river waxeth swete, & runneth foreby the citie freshe and pleasaunt. And when the sea ebbeth, & goeth backe againe, the freshe water foloweth it almooste even to the verie fal into the sea. Ther goeth a bridge over the river madenot of piles or of timber, but of stonewarke with gorgious & substancial arches at that part of the citie that is farthest from the sea: to the intent that shippes maye passe a longe forbie all the side of the citie without let. They have also an other river which in dede is not verie great; but it runneth gentely & pleasauntly. for it riseth even oute of the same hill that the citie standeth upon, & runneth downe a slope through the middes of the citie into Anyder. And because it riseth a little withoutte the citie, the Amaurotians have inclosed the head springe of it with stronge fences and bulwarkes, & so have joyned

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The verie
like in En-
gland in
the river of
Thamys

Herein also
doeth Lon-
don agre
with Am-
aurote

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The use of
freshe wa-
ter

The de-
fence of
towne
walles

Stretes

Build-
inges and
houses

it to the citie. This is done to the intente that the water shoulde not be stopped nor turned away, or poysoned, if their enemies should chaunce to come upon them. from thence the water is derived and conveied downe in cannels of bricke divers wayes into the lower partes of the citie. Where that cannot be done, by reason that the place wyll not suffer it, there they gather the raine water in great cisternes, whiche doeth them as good service.

HE citie is compassed aboute with a heighe and thicke stone walle full of turrets and bulwarkes. A drie diche, but deape, and brode, and over-grownen with bushes, briers, & thornes, goeth aboute thre sides or quarters of the city. To the fourth side, the river it selfe serveth for a ditch.

HE stretes be appointed and set furth very commodious & hand-some, both for carriage, and also agaistne the windes. The houses be of faire and gorgious building, and on the strete side they stande joyned together in a long rowe through the whole streate,

without any partition or separation. The stretes be twentie foote brode. On the backe side of the houses through the whole length of the streete, lye large gardens inclosed rounde aboute wyth the backe part of the streetes. Everye house hathe two doores, one into the streete, & a posterne doore on the backsyde into the garden. These doores be made with two leaves, never locked nor bolted, so easie to be opened, that they wil followe the least drawing of a fynger, and shutte againe alone. Whoso will, may go in, for there is nothinge within the houses that is private, or anie mans owne. And every tenth yeare they chaunge their houses by lot.

HEY set great store by their gardins. In them they have vineyardes, all maner of fruite, herbes, & flowres, so pleasaunt, so well furnished, and so fynely kepte, that I never sawe thyng more fruteful, nor better trimmed in anye place. Their studie and deligence herein commeth not onely of pleasure, but also of a certen strife and contention that is betwene strete & strete, concerning the

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

To every
dwelling
house a
garden
platte ad-
joynynge

This geere
smelleth
of Plato
his com-
munitie

The com-
moditie of
gardens is
commend-
ed also of
Vergile

trimming, husbanding, and furnisshing of their gardens; every man for his owne parte. And verelye you shall not lightlye finde in all the citie anye thinge, that is more commodious, eyther for the profite of the citizens, or for pleasure; and therfore it maye seeme that the first founder of the citie mynded nothing somuch, as these gardens. for they saye that kinge Utopus him selfe, even at the first beginning, appointed & drewe furth the platte fourme of the citie into this fashion and figure that it hath nowe, but the gallant garnishinge, and the beautifull settinge furth of it, wherunto he sawe that one mannes age would not suffice; that he left to his posteritie. for their cronicles, whiche they kepe written with all deligente circumspection, conteynynge the historie of M. vii. C. lx. yeares, even from the firste conquest of the Ilande, recorde and witnesse that the houses in the beginning were very low, and like homely cotages or poore sheppard houses, made at all adventures of everye rude pece of tymber, that came firste to hande, with mudde walles, & ridged rooffes, thatch-

ed over with strawe. But nowe the houses
be curiouslye buylded after a gorgious
& gallante sorte, with three storyes one
over another. The outsides of the walles
be made either of harde flynte, or of plas-
ter, or els of bricke, and the inner sydes
be well strengthened with tymber work.
The rooffes be plaine & flat, covered with
a certen kinde of plaster that is of no
coste, and yet so tempered that no fyre
can hurt or perishe it, and withstandeth
the violence of the wether better then any
leade. They kepe the winde oute of their
windowes with glasse, for it is ther much
used, and somhere also with fine linnen
cloth dipped in oyle or ambre, & that for
two commodities; for by thys meanes
more lighte commeth in, and the winde
is better kepte oute.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Glased or
canvased
windowes

Of the magistrates



VERYE thirtie families or fermes, chuese them yerely an officer, which in their olde language is called the Syphograunte, & by a newe name the Philarche. Every ten Syphograuntes, with al their thirtie families be under an officer which was ones called the Tranibore, nowe the chiefe Philarche. Moreover as concerninge the election of the Prince, all the Syphograuntes, which be in number 200, first be sworne to chuese him whom they thinke mooste mete & expediente. Then by a secrete election, they name prince one of those $iiiij.$ whome the people before named unto them. For oute of the $iiiij.$ quarters of the citie there be $iiiij.$ chosen, oute of every quarter one, to stande for the election; whiche be put up to the counsell. The princes office continueth all his life tyme, oneles he be deposed or put downe for suspition of tirannie. They

A trani-
bore in the
Utopiane
tonge sig-
nifieth a
head or
chief peere

A mar-
velous
straunge
fassion in
chusinge
magis-
trates

Tyranny in
awelordered weale publique utterlie to be abhorred

chuese the Tranibores yearly, but light-
lie they chaunge them not. All the other
officers be but for one yeaire. The Tran-
bores everye thyrde daye, and sumtimes,
yf nede be, oftener, come into the coun-
sell house with the prince.

GHEIR counsell is concerninge the
common wealthe. If there be anye
controversies amone the com-
moners, whiche be verye fewe, they dis-
patch & ende them by and by. They take
ever ij. Siphograuntes to them in coun-
sel, and everi dai a new coupel. And it is
provided, that nothinge touchinge the
common wealthe shalbe confirmed and
ratified, onlesse it have bene reasoned of
and debated thre daies in the counsell,
before it be decreeed.

IT is deathe to have anye consulta-
tion for the common wealthe oute
of the counsell, or the place of the
common election. This statute, they saye,
was made to the entent that the prince
& Tranibores might not easilie conspire
together to oppresse the people by ty-
rannie, and to chaunge the state of the
weale publik. Therfore matters of great

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Sutes and
controver-
sies be-
twene par-
tie & partie
furthwith
to be ended
which now
a daies of a
set pur-
pose be un-
reasonably
delaied

Against
hastie and
rashe de-
cres or
statutes

weight and importance be broughte to the election house of the Siphograuntes, which open the matter to their families; & afterwarde, when they have consulted amonge themselves, they shew their devise to the counsell. Somtime the matter is brought before the counsel of the whole Ilande.

FURTHERMORE this custome also the counsel useth, to dispute or reason of no matter the same daye that it is firste proposed or put furthe, but to defferre it to the nexte syttinge of the counsell. Because that no man when he hath rashely there spoken that commeth to his tonges ende, shall then afterwarde rather studye for reasons wherwith to defende & mainteine his first folish sentence, than for the commoditie of the common wealth; as one rather willing the harme or hinderaunce of the weale publike then any losse or diminution of his owne existimation; and as one that would be ashamed (which is a verie folishe shame) to be counted anye thing at the firste oversene in thematter, who at the firste ought to have spoken rather wyselye, then hastely, or rashlye.

Of Sciences, Craftes & Occupations.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia



USBANDRIE is a science common to them all in general, bothe men & women, wherein they be all experte and cunning. In this they be all instructed even from their youth: parte, lie in their schooles with traditions & preceptes, and partlie in the countrey nigh the citie, brought up as it were in playinge, not onely beholding the use of it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies practising it also. Besides husbandrie, whiche (as I saide) is common to them all, everye one of them learneth one or other several & particular science, as his owne proper crafte. That is most comonly either clothworking in wolorflaxe, or masonrie, or the smithes craft, or the carpenters science. for there is none other occupation that any number to speake of doth use there.

Husban-
drie or til-
lage prac-
tised of all
estates,
which now
a dayes is
reject unto
a fewe of the
basest sort

Sciences or
occupations
should be
learned for
necessities
sake, & not
for the
maynten-
aunce of ri-
otous ex-
cesse and
wanton
pleasure

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Similitude
in apparell

No citizein
without a
science

To what oc-
cupation
everyone is
naturallie
inclined
that let him
learne

FOR their garmentes, which through-
oute all the Ilande be of one fash-
ion (savynge that there is a differ-
ence betwene the mans garmente and the
womans, betwene the maried and the un-
maried), & this one continueth for ever-
more unchaunged, semely and comelie to
the eye, no lette to the movynge & weld-
ynge of the bodye, also fytte bothe for
wynter and summer: as for these gar-
mentes (I saye) every familie maketh their
owne; but of the other foresaide craftes
everye man learneth one. And not onely
the men, but also the women. But the
women, as the weaker sort, be put to the
easier craftes; as to worke wolle & flaxe.
The more laborsome sciences be com-
mitted to the men. for the mooste part
every man is broughte up in his fathers
crafte, for moste commonlye they be na-
turallie therto bente and inclined. But yf
a mans minde stande to anye other, he is
by adoption put into a familye of that
occupation which he doth most fantasy.
Whome not onely his father, but also the
magistrates do diligently loke to, that he
be put to a discrete and an honest house-

holder. Yea, and if anye person, when he hath learned one crafte, be desierous to learne also another, he is likewyse suffered & permitted. When he hathe learned bothe, he occupieth whether he wyll, one-lesse the citie have more neade of the one, then of the other. The chiefe & almooste the onelye offyce of the Syphograuntes is, to see and take hede, that no manne sit idle, but that everye one applye hys owne craft with earnest diligence; and yet for all that, not to be wearied from earlie in the morninge, to late in the evenninge, with continuall worke, like labouringe & toylinge beastes.

Idel persones to be driven out of the weale publique

OR this is worse then the miserable and wretched condition of bondemen. Whiche nevertheles is almooste everywhere the lyfe of workemen and artificers, saving in Utopia. For they, dividynge the daye & thenyghte into xxiiij. juste hours, appointe & assigne onelye sixe of those hours to woorke before noone, upon the whiche they go streigthe to dinner: and after dinner, when they have rested two hours, then they worke iii. hours, and upon that they go

A moderation in the laboure and toyle of artificers

to supper. About eyghte of the cloke in the eveninge (counting one of the clocke at the firste houre after noone) they go to bedde: eyght houres they geve to slepe. All the voide time, that is betwene the houres of worke, slepe, and meate, that they be suffered to bestowe, every man as he liketh best him selfe. Not to thin-
tent that they shold mispend this time in riote or slouthfulnes, but beyng then licensed from the laboure of their owne occupations, to bestow the time well and thrifelye upon some other science, as shall please them.

AOR it is a solempne custome there, to have lectures daylye, early in the morning, where to be presente they onely be constrained that be namelye chosen & appoynted to learninge. Howbeit a greate multitude of every sort of people, both men & women go to heare lectures, some one and some an other, as everye mans nature is inclined. Yet, this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestowe this time upon his owne occupation (as it chaunceth in manye, whose mindes rise not in the contemplation of any science

liberall) he is not letted, nor prohibited, but is also praysed and commended, as profitable to the common wealthe.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

AFTER supper they bestow one houre in playe: in summer in their gardens: in winter in their commen halles: where they dine & suppe. There they exercise themselves in musike, or els in honest and wholsome communication. Dice, playe, and suche other folishe and pernicious games they know not; but they use ij. games not much unlike the chesse. The one is the battell of numbers, wherein one numbre stealethe awaye another. The other is wherin vices fyghte with vertues, as it were in battel array, or a set fyld. In the which game is verye properlye shewed, bothe the striffe & discorde that vices have amonge themselfes, and agayne theire unitye and concorde againste vertues; & also what vices be repugnaunt to what vertues: with what powre and strength they assaile them onlye: by what wieles and subtelty they assaulte them secretelye: with what helpe & aide the vertues resist, and overcome the puissaunce of the vices: by what craft

Playing af-
ter supper

But now a-
daies dice-
play is the
pastime of
princes

Plaies or
games also
profitable

they frustrate their purposes: and finally by what sleight or meanes the one getteth the victory.

BUT here, least you be deceaved, one thinge you muste looke more narrowly upon. for seinge they bestowe but vi. houres in woorke, perchaunce you maye thinke that the lacke of some necessarye thinges hereof maye ensewe. But this is nothinge so. for that smal time is not only enough but also to muche for the stoore and abundaunce of all thinges, that be requisite, either for the necessitie, or commoditie of life. The which thinge you also shall perceave, if you weye and consider with your selfes how great a parte of the people in other contreis lyveth ydle. first, almost all women, whyche be the halfe of the whole numbre: or els if the women be somewhere occupied, there most commonlye in their steade the men be ydle. Besydes this, how greate, & how ydle a companye is there of preystes, & relygious men, as they cal them? Put thereto al ryche men, speciallye all landed men, which comonlye be called gentilmen, and noble men:

take into this numbre also theire ser-
vauntes: I meane all that flocke of stoute
bragging russhe bucklers. Joyne to them
also sturdie & valiaunte beggers, clokinge
their idle lyfe under the colore of some
disease or sickenes, and trulye you shal
find them much fewer then you thought,
by whose labour al these thinges are
wrought, that in mens affaires are now
daylye used and frequented. Nowe con-
syder with youre selfe, of these fewe that
doe woorke, how fewe be occupied, in ne-
cessarye woorkes. for where money bear-
eth all the swinge, there many vayne and
superfluous occupations must nedes be
used, to serve only for ryotous superflu-
ite, and un honest pleasure. for the same
multitude that now is occupied in woork,
if they were devidied into so fewe occupa-
tions as the necessarye use of nature re-
quyreth: in so greate plentye of thinges
as then of necessity woulde ensue, doubt-
les the prices wolde be to lytle for the arti-
fycers to maynteyne theire livinges. But
yf all these that be nowe busied about un-
profitable occupations, with all the whole
flocke of them that lyve ydellye & slouth,

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Servyng-
men

Sturdy and
valiaunt
beggers

Wonderfull
wittely
spoken

Not as-
muche as
the magi-
strates live
idelly

fullye, whyche consume & waste, everye
one of them, more of these thinges that
come by othermens laboure then ij. of the
workemen themselves doo: yf all these,
I saye, were sette to profytable occupa-
tyons you easelye perceave howe lytle
tyme would be enoughe, yea, & to muche,
to stoorre us with all thinges that maye be
requisite either for necessitie, or for com-
moditye, yea or for pleasure, so that the
same pleasure be trewe and natural.

AND this in Utopia the thinge it selfe
makethe manifeste & playne. for
there in all the citye, with the whole
contreye or shiere adjoyning to it, sease-
lye 500 persons of al the whole numbre
of men & women, that be neither to olde
nor to weake to worke, be licensed & dis-
charged from laboure. Amonge them
be the Siphograuntes (whoe though
they be by the lawes exempte and privi-
leged from labour) yet they exempte not
themselves; to the intent they may the
rather by their example provoke other
to worke. The same vacation from la-
bour do they also enjoye, to whome the
people, persuaded by the commendation

of the priestes, & secrete election of the The
Siphograuntes, have geven a perpetual seconde
licence from laboure to learninge. But if booke of
any one of them prove not accordinge to
the expectation and hoope of him con-
ceaved, he is forthwith plucked backe to
the company of artificers. And contrarye
wise, often it chaunceth that a handi-
craftes man doth so earnestly bestowe
his vacaunte and spare houres in learn-
inge, & throughe diligence so profyteth
therin, that he is taken from his handy
occupation, and promoted to the com-
pany of the learned. Oute of this ordre
of the learned be chosen ambassadours,
priestes, tranibores, & finallye the prince
him selfe; whome they in theire olde tonge
call Barzanes, & by a newer name, Adam-
us. The residewe of the people being nei-
ther ydle, nor yet occupied about unpro-
fitable exercises, it may be easely judg-
ed in how fewe houres how muche good
woorke by them may be doone and dis-
patched, towardes those thinges that I
have spoken of.

Onely
learned men
called to of-
fices

HIS commodity they have also above other, that in the most part of necessarye occupations, they neade not so much work, as other nations doe. For first of all, the buildinge or repayringe of houses asketh everye where so manye mens continual labour, bicause that the unthrifty heire suffereth the houses that his father buylded, in contyneuance of tyme to fall in decay; so that which he myghte have upholden wyth lytle coste, hys successoure is constreyned to buylde it agayne a newe, to his great charge. Yea, manye tymes also, the howse that stooode one man in muche moneye, another is of so nyce and soo delycate a mynde, that he settethe no-thinge by it; & it beynge neglected, and therefore shortelye fallynge into ruyne, he buyldeth the uppe another in an other place with no lesse coste & chardge. But amonge the Utopians, where all thinges be sett in a good ordre, and the common wealthe in a good staye, it very seldom chaunceth, that they cheuse a newe plotte to buyld an house upon. And they doo not only finde spedye & quicke remedies

for present faultes: but also prevente them that be like to fall; & by this meanes their houses continewe & laste very longe, with little labour and smal reparations; in so much that this kind of woorkmen somtimes have almost nothinge to doo. But that they be commaunded to hewe timbre at home, and to square & trimme up stones, to the intente that if anye woorke chaunce, it may the spedelierrise.

DOW Syr, in theire apparell, marke, I praye you, howe few woorkmen they neade. fyrste of al, whyles they be at woorke, they be covered homely with leather or skinnes, that will last vii. yeares. When they go furthe abrode they caste upon them a cloke, whych hydeth the other homelye apparel. These clookes through out the whole Iland be all of one coloure, and that is the natural coloure of the wul. They therefore do not only spend much lesse wullen clothe then is spente in other contreis, but also the same standeth them in muche lesse coste. But lynen clothe is made with lesse laboure, and is therefore hadde more in use. But in lynen cloth onlye whyte-

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

How to
lessen the
charge in
apparel

nesse, in wullen only clenlynnes is regard-
ed. As for the smalnesse or finenesse of
the threde, that is no thinge passed for.
And this is the cause wherfore in other
places $\text{iii}.$ or $\text{v}.$ clothe gownes of dyvers
coloures, and as manye silke cootes be
not enoughe for one man. Yea, and yf he
be of the delicate and nyse sorte $\text{x}.$ be to
fewe: whereas there, one garmente wyl
serve a man mooste commenlye ij. yeares.
for whie shoulde he desyre moo? seinge
yf he had them, he should not be the bet-
ter hapte or covered from colde, neither
in his apparel anye whitte the comlyer.
Wherfore, seinge they be all exercysed
in profitable occupations, and that fewe
artificers in the same craftes be suffi-
ciente, this is the cause that plentye of all
thinges beinge among them, they doo
sometymes bringe forthe an innumerable
companye of people to amend the hyghe
wayes, yf anye be broken. Many times
also, when they have no suche woorke to
be occupied aboute, an open proclama-
tion is made, that they shall bestowe few-
er houres in woorke. for the magistrates
doe not exercise theire citizens againste

theire willes in unneadefull laboures. for
whie in the institution of that weale pub-
lique, this ende is onelye and chiefely pre-
tended and mynded, that what timemaye
possibly be spared from the necessarye
occupacions and affayres of the commen-
wealth, all that the citizeins shoulde with-
drawe from the bodely service to the free
libertye of the minde, and garnisshinge
of the same. for herein they suppose the
felicitye of this liffe to consiste.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Of theire Livinge and Mutual Conversa-
tion together. ☘ ☘



AT nowe wil I de-
clare how the ci-
tizens use them-
selves one to-
wardes another:
what familiar oc-
cupieng & enter-
teynement there
is amonge the
people, and what
fassion they use in the distribution of
every thing.

IRSTE the city consisteth of families, the families most com-
monlye be made of kinredes. for the women, when they be maryed at a lawefull age, they goo into theire hus-
bandes houses. But the male children, with al the whole male ofspringe con-
tinewe still in their owne family and be
governed of the eldest and auncientest
father, onles he dote for age: for then
the next to him in age, is placed in his
rowme. But to thintent the prescript
number of the citezens shoulde neither
decrease, nor above measure increase, it
isordeined that no familie which in every
citie be vi. thousand in the whole, besydes
them of the contrey, shall at ones have
fewer children of the age of xiiij. yeares
or thereabout then x. or mo then xvi.; for
of children under this age no numbre can
be prescribed or appointed. This mea-
sure or numbre is easely observed and
kept, by putting them that in fuller fa-
milies be above the number into families
of smaller increase. But if chaunce be that
in the whole citie the stoore encrease a-
bove the just number, therewith they fil

up the lacke of other cities. But if so be
that the multitude throughout the whole
Ilande passe & excede the dewe number,
then they chuese out of every citie cer-
tein citezens, and build up a towne under
their owne lawes in the next land where
the inhabitauntes have muche waste and
unoccupied ground, receaving also of
the same countrey people to them, if they
will ioyne & dwel with them. They thus
joyning & dwelling together do easelye
agre in one fassion of living, and that to
the great wealth of both the peoples,
for they so bringe the matter about by
theire lawes, that the ground which be-
fore was neither good nor profitable for
the one nor for the other, is nowe suffi-
ciente & fruteful enoughe for them both.
But if the inhabitauntes of that lande
wyl not dwell with them to be ordered by
their lawes, then they dryve them out of
those boundes which they have limited
and apointed out for them selves,
And if they resiste and rebel, then they make
warre agaynst them.

EOR they counte this the moste
juste cause of warre, when anye
people holdethe a piece of grounde

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

voyde and vacaunt to no good nor profitable use, kepyng other from the use and possession of it, whiche notwithstanding by the lawe of nature ought thereof to be nouryshed and relieved.

If anye chaunce do somuche diminishe the number of any of theire cities, that it cannot be fylled up agayne, without the diminishyng of the just numbre of the other ctyies (whiche they say chaunced but twyse sync the beginnyng of the lande throughe a greate pestilente plague) then they fulfyll and make up the numbre with cytezens fetched out of theire owne forreyne townes, for they had rather suffer theire forreyne townes to decaye and peryshe, then any ctyie of theire owne Ilande to be diminished.

So might
we well be
discharged
and eased
of the ydle
company of
servyng-
men

BUT nowe agayne to the conversation of the cytezens amonge themselves. The eldeste, as I sayde, rule the the familye. The wyfes bee ministers to theire husbandes, the children to theire parentes, and to bee shorte, the yonger to theire

elders. Everye cytie is devided into foure equall partes or quarters. In the myddes of every quarter there is a market place of all maner of thinges. Thether the workes of every familie be brought into certeyne houses, & everye kynde of thing is layde up severall in bernes or store houses. from hence the father of everye familye, or every houholder fetcheth whatsoever he and his have neade of, and carieth it away with him without money, without exchaunge, without any gage, pawne, or pledge. for why shoulde any thing be denied unto him? seyng there is abundance of all thinges, and that it is not to bee feared, leste anye man wyll aske more then he neadeth. for whie should it be thoughte that that man woulde aske more then anough, which is sewer never to lacke?

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

CERTEYNELY in all kyndes of lyvinge creatures either feare of lacke dothe cause covetousnes & ravyne, or in man only pryde, which counteth it a gloriouse thinge to passe and excel other in the superfluous and vayne ostentation of thinges. The whyche kynde

The cause
of coveteus
& extortiōn

Of the
slaughter
of beastes
we have lea-
ned man-
slaughter

fylth & or-
dure bring
the infect-
ion of pes-
tilence into
cyties

of vice amonge the Utopians can have no
place.

NEXTE to the market places that I spake of, stande meate markettes: whether be brought not only all sortes of herbes, and the fruities of trees, with breade, but also fishe, and all maner of iiiii. footed beastes, & wilde foule that be mans meate. But first the fylthynes and ordure therof is clene washed awaye in the renningeryver without the cytie, in places appoynted mete for the same purpose. from thence the beastes be brought in kylled, and cleane wasshed by the handes of theire bondemen, for they permitte not their frie citezens to accustome them selfes to the killing of beastes, through the use whereof they thinke clemencye, the gentelest affection of oure nature, by lytle & lytle to decaye & peryshe. Neither they suffer anye thinge that is fylthye, lothesom, or unclenlye, to be broughte into the cytie, least the ayre by the stenche therof infected and corrupte, shoulde cause pestilente diseases.

DOREOVER everye strete hath certeyne great large halles sett in equal distaunce one from another, everye one knownen by a severall name. In these halles dwell the Syphograuntes. And to everye one of the same halles be apoynted xxx. families, on either side xv. The stewardes of everye halle at a certayne houre come in to the meate markettes, where they receyve meate accordinge to the number of their halles.

BUT first & chieflie of all, respect is had to the sycke, that be cured in the hospitalles. for in the circuite of the citie, a litle without the walles, they have *iiii.* hospitalles, so bigge, so wyde, so ample, and so large, that they may seme *iiii.* little townes, which were devised of that bignes, partly to thintent, the sycke, be they never so many in number, shuld not lye to thronge or strayte, and therfore uneasely, and incommodiously: and partly that they which were taken and holden with contagious diseases, suche as be wonte by infection to crepe from one to an other, myght be layde apart farre from the company of

The
seconde
booke of
Atopa

Care, diligence and attendance about the sicke

the residue. These hospitalles be so wel appointed, and with al thinges necessary to health so furnished, and more over, so diligent attendaunce through the continual presence of cunning phisitians is geven, that though no man be sent therer against his will, yet notwithstandinge there is no sicke persone in al the citie, that had not rather lye there, then at home in his owne house. When the stewarde of the sicke hath received suche meates as the phisitians have prescribed, then the beste is equalllye devided among the halles, according to the company of every one, saving that there is had a respect to the prince, the byshop, the transours, & to ambassadours & all straungers, if there be any, which be very fewe and seldome.  But they also when they be there, have certeyne severall houses apointed & prepared for them. To these halles at the set houres of dinner & supper commeth all the whole Siphograuntie or warde, warned by the noyse of a brasen trumpet: except suche as be sicke in the hospitalles, or els in their owne houses.  Howbeit no man is prohibited or for-

bid, after the halles be served, to fetch home meate out of the market to his own house, for they knowe that no man wyl doe it without a cause reasonable. for though no man be prohibited to dyne at home, yet no man doth it willyngly; because it is counted a pointe of smal honestie. And also it were a follye to take the payne to dresse a badde diner at home, when they may be welcome to good & fyne fare so neighe hande at the hall.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Every man
is at his lib-
ertie, so that
nothing is
done by
compulsion

N this hall, al vile service, all slav-
ery, & drudgerie, with all labour-
some toyle, and base busines is
done by bondemen. But the women of
every family by course have the office &
charge of cookerie for sethinge and dres-
sing the meate, & orderinge all thinges
thereto belongyng. They sit at three
tables or moe, accordinge to the numbre
of their company. The men sitte upon
the bench next the wall, and the women
againste them on the other side of the
table, that yf anye sodeyne evyll should
chaunce to them, as many tymes hap-
peneth to women with chylde, they maye

Women
bothe
dresse and
serve the
meate

Nothing
soner pro-
voketh men
to wel do-
yng then
praise and
commend-
ation

The educa-
tion of
yonge chil-
dren

rise wythoute trouble or disturbance of
anye bodie, & go thence into the nurcerie.

THE nurceis sitte severall alone
with theyr younge suckelinges
in a certaine parloure appointed
and deputed to the same purpose, never
withoute fire and cleane water, nor yet
without cradels, that when they wyll they
maye laye downe the younge infantes, &
at theyr pleasure take them oute of their
swathynge clothes, & holde them to the
fire, & refresh them with playe. Every
mother is nource to her owne childe, onles
either death, or sycknes be the let. When
that chaunceth, the wives of the Sypho-
grauntes quyckelye provyde a nource.
And that is notharde to be done; for they
that can doo it, profer themselves to no
service so gladlye as to that. Because that
there thys kinde of pitie is muche pray-
ed: and the chylde that is nourished, ever
after taketh his nource for his owne na-
turall mother. Also amonge the nour-
ceis, sytte all the children that be under
the age of v. yeares. All the other chyl-
dren of bothe kyndes, aswell boyes as
girles, that be under the age of mary-

age, do eyther serve at the tables, or els if they be to yonge thereto, yet they stand by with marvailous silence. That whiche is geven to them from the table they eate, and other several dynner tyme they have none. The Siphograunte & his wife sitte in the myddes of the high table, forasmuch as that is counted the honorablest place, & because from thence all the whole companie is in their sight. For that table standeth overthwarte the over ende of the hall. To them be joyned two of the auncientest & eldest. for at everye table they sit four at a meesse. But yf there be a church standing in that Siphograuntie or warde, then the priest and his wife sitteth with the Siphograunt, as chiefe in the company. On both sydes of them sit yonge men, and nexte unto them againe olde men. And thus through out all the house, equall of age be sette together, and yet be mixt and matched with unequal ages. This, they say, was ordeyned, to the intent that the sage gravitie and reverence of the elders should kepe the yongers from wanton licence of wordes and behavioure. forasmuch as nothyng

The yong
mixed with
their elders

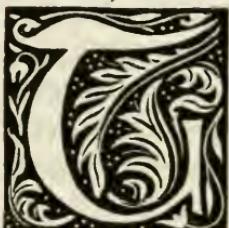
The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Olde men
regarded &
reverenced

This now a
daies is ob-
served in
oure univer-
sities

Talke at the
table

can be so secretlye spoken or done at the table, but either they that sit on the one side or on the other muste nedes perceave it. The dishes be not set down in order from the first place but all the olde men (whose places be marked with some speciall token to be knowen) be first served of their meate, & then the residue equally. The olde men devide their deinties, as they think best, to the yonger on eche syde of them.



HUS the elders be not defrauded of their dewe honoure, and neverthelesse equall commoditie commeth to every one. They begin evrye dinner & supper of redinge sumthing that pertaineth to good maners & vertue. But it is shorte, because no man shalbe greved therwith. Hereof thelders take occasion of honest communication, but neither sadde nor unpleasaunt. Howbeit they do not spende all the whole dinertime themselves with longe and tedious talkes: but they gladly heare also the yonge men: yea, & purposelye provoke them to talke, to then-

tent that they may have a profe of every mans wit, and towardnes, or disposition to vertue, which commonlie in the liber- tie of feasting doth shew & utter it self.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Their diners be verie short: but their sup- pers be sumwhat longer, because that af- ter dyner foloweth laboure, after supper slepe & natural reste, whiche they thinke to be of more strength and efficacie to wholsome and healthfull digestion.

This is
repugnaunt
to the opin-
ion of our
phisitions

No supper is passed without musicke. Nor their bankettes lacke no conceytes nor jonketes. They burne swete gummes and spices or perfumes, and pleasaunt smelles, & sprinckle aboue swete oynt- mentes & waters, yea, they leave nothing undone that maketh for the cheringe of the compayne. for they be muche enclin- ed to this opinion: to thinke no kinde of pleasure forbydden, whereof commeth no harme. Thus therfore and after this sort they live togetheris in the citie, but in the countrey they that dwell alone, farre from any neigboures, do dyne & suppe at home in their owne houses. for no fa- milie there lacketh any kinde of victual- les, as from whom commeth all that the citezens eate and lyve by.

Musick at
the table

Pleasure
without
harme not
discom-
mendable

Of their journeyng or travayling abrode,
with divers other matters cunninglye rea-
soned, and wyttilye discussed.



UT if any be desierous to visite either theyr frendes dwel-
ling in an other citie,
or to see the place
it selfe: they ease-
lie obteyne licence of
their Siphograuntes
and Tranibores, on-
lesse there be some
profitable let. No man goeth out alone,
but a companie is sente furth together
with their princes letters, which do testi-
fie that they have licence to go that jour-
ney, and prescribeth also the day of their
retourne. They have a wageyn geven
them, with a common bondman, which
driveth the oxen, and taketh charge of
them. But onles they have women in their
companie, they sende home the wageyn
againe, as an impediment & a let. And
thoughe they carye nothyng furth with
them, yet in all their jorney they lack no-
thing. for whersoever they come, they be
at home.

If they tary in a place longer then one daye, than there every one of them falleth to his owne occupation, and be very gentilly enterteined of the workemen & companies of the same craftes. If any man of his owne heade & without leave, walke out of his precinct and boundes, taken without the princes letters, he is broughte againe for a fugitive or a runaway with great shame and rebuke, and is sharplye punished. If he be taken in that fault againe, he is punished with bondage. If anye be desirous to walke abrode into the feldes, or into the countrey that belongeth to the same citie that he dwelleth in, obteininge the good wil of his father, and the consente of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of the contrey soever he commeth, he hath no meat geven him until he have wrought out his forenones taske, or dispatched so muche worke, as there is wont to be wrought before supper. Observing this law and condition, he may go whether he wil within the boundes of his own citie. for he shalbe no les profit-able to the citie, then if he were within it.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

O holy com-
mon wealth,
& of Chris-
tians to be
folowed

Equalitie is
the cause
that every
man hath
enoughe

Now you se how little liberte they have to loiter: howe they can have no cloke or pre-
tence to ydlenes. There be neither wine-
tavernes, nor ale houses, nor stewes, nor
anye occasion of vice or wickednes, no
lurkinge corners, no places of wycked
counsels or unlawfull assemblies. But
they be in the present sighte, and un-
der the eies of every man. So that of ne-
cessitie they must either apply their ac-
customed labours, or els recreate them-
selves with honest & laudable pastimes.



HIS fashion and trade of
life, being used amonge the
people, it cannot be chosen,
but that they muste of ne-
cessitie have store & plen-
tie of all thinges. And se-
yng they be all therof parteners equallie,
therefore can no man there be poore or
nedie. In the counsell of Amaurot, whe-
ther, as I said, every citie sendeth three
men a pece yearly, assone as it is perfect-
ly knownen of what thinges there is in ev-
ery place plentie, & againe, what thinges
be skant in any place: incontinent the
lacke of the one is perfourmed and fill-

ed up with the aboundinge of the other. And this they do frely without anye benefite, taking nothing againe of them, to whom that thinges is given; but those cities that have geven of their store to any other citie that lacketh, requiring nothing againe of that same citie, do take suche thinges as they lacke of an other citie, to the which they gave nothinge.

So the whole ylande is as it were one familie, or housholde. But when they have made sufficient provision of store for themselves (which they thinke not done until they have provided for two yeres folowinge, because of the uncertentie of the next yeares proffe) then of those thinges wherof they have abundance, they carie furth into other countreis great plentie: as grayne, honnie, wulle, flaxe, woode, madder, purple dyed felles, waxe, tallowe, lether, and lyvinge beastes. And the seventh parte of all these thynges they geve franckelye and frelie to the pore of that countrey. The residewe they sell at a reasonable & meane price. By this trade of traffique or marchaundise, they bring into their own

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

A common
wealthe is
nothing
elles but a
great house,
hold

The traf-
fique & mar-
chaundise
of the Uto-
pians

In all
things and
above all
things to
their com-
munitie thei
have an eye

By what
pollicie mo-
ney may be
in lesse es-
timation

contrey, not only great plenty of golde and silver, but also all suche thynges as they lacke at home, whiche is almoste nothinge but iron. And by reason they have longe used this trade, nowe they have more aboundinge of these thinges then anye man wyll beleve. Nowe therfore they care not whether they sell for readye money, or els upon truste to be payed at a daye, and to have the mooste parte in debtes. But in so doyngē they never followe the credence of privat men: but the assuraunce or warrauntise of the whole citie, by instrumentes & writings made in that behalfe accordingly. When the daye of paiement is come & expired, the citie gathereth up the debte of the private debtoures, & putteth it into the common boxe, and so longe hathe the use and profite of it, untill the Utopians, their creditours, demaunde it. The mooste parte of it they never aske, for that thyngē whiche is to them no profite, to take it from other, to whom it is profitable: they thinke it no righte nor conscience. But if the case so stand, that they must lende part of that money to

an other people, then they require theyr
debte: or when they have warre. for the
whiche purpose onelye they kepe at home
all the treasure which they have, to be
holpen and socoured by it either in ex-
treame jeopardyes, or in suddeine daun-
gers. But especiallye & chiefelie to hiere
therewith, & that for unreasonable greate
wayges, straunge soldiours. for they
hadde rather put straungers in jeopardy,
then theyr owne countreyemen: know-
ynge that for money ynoughe, theirene-
myes themselves many times may be
boughte & solde, or elles throughetrea-
son be sette togetheres by the eares a-
monge themselves. for this cause they
kepe an inestimable treasure. But yet not
as a treasure: but so they have it, & use it,
as in good faythe I am ashamed to shewe:
fearinge that my woordes shall not be
beleved. And this I have more cause to
feare, for that I knowe howe difficultlie
and hardelye I meselfe would have
beleved an other man tellinge the same, if
I hadde not presentlye sene it with mine
owne eyes.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

It is better
either with
money or by
pollicie to
avyode
warre, then
with muche
losse of
mans bloud
to fight

O fyne
wytte



OR it muste neades be, that
howe farre a thynge is dis-
sonaunt and disagreeing
from the guise & trade of
the hearers, so farre shall it
be out of their belefe. Howe-
beit, a wise and indifferent estimer of
thynges, will not greatlye marveill per-
chaunce, seynge all they other lawes and
customes do so muche differre from
oures, yf the use also of gold and sylver
amonge them be applied, rather to their
owne fashyons, than to oures. I meane
in that they occupie not money them-
selves, but kepe it for that chaunce,
whiche as it may happen, so it maye be,
that it shall never come to passe.

**Golde
worse then
yron as
touchynge
the neces-
sarie use
therof**

N the meane time golde & sylver.
whereof money is made, they do
so use, as none of them doethe
more esteme it, then the verye nature of
the thing deserveth. And then who doeth
not playnelye se howe farre it is under
iron: as without the whiche men can no
better lyve then without fiere and water.
Whereas to golde and silver nature hath
geven no use, that we may not well lacke:

if that the follye of men hadde not sette it in higher estimation for the rarenesse sake. But of the contrarie parte, nature as a mooste tender and lovyng mother, hathe placed the beste & mooste necessarie thinges open abroade: as the ayere, the water, and the yearth it selfe. And hathe removed and hyd farthest from us vayne and unprofitable thinges. Therefore if these metalles amonge them shoulde be faste locked up in some tower, it might be suspected, that the prince and the counsell (as the people is ever foolisherie ymagininge) intended by some subtilitie to deceave the commons, and to take some profite of it to themselves. furthermore, if they shold make therof plate, and such other finelie and cunninglie wroughte stuffe: if at anye time they should have occasion to breake it, and melte it againe, therewith to paye their souldiers wages, they see and perceave verye well, that men woulde be lothe to parte from those thinges, that they ones begonne to have pleasure and de-lite in.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

O wonder-
full contu-
melie of
golde

Golde the
reprochful
badge of in-
famed per-
sons

GO remedie all this they have founde
oute a meanes, whiche, as it is agre-
able to all theirother lawes and cus-
tomes, so it is from ours, where golde is
so much set by and so diligently kept,
very farre discripant & repugnaunt; and
therfore uncredible, but onelye to them
that be wise. for where as they eate and
drinke in earthen and glasse vesselles,
whiche in dede be curiouslye & properlie
made, and yet be of very smal value: of
golde and sylver they make commonly
chaumber pottes, and other vesselles,
that serve for moste vile uses, not one-
ly in their common halles, but in every
mans private house. Furthermore, of
the same mettalles they make greate
chaines, fetters, and gieves wherin they
tie their bondmen. finally, whosoever
for anye offense be infamed, by their
eares hange rynges of golde: upon their
fyngers they weare rynges of golde, and
aboute their neckes chaines of golde: &
in conclusion their heades be tiedaboute
with gold. Thus by al meanes possi-
ble thei procure to have gold and silver
among them in reproche & infamie. And

these metalles, which other nations do as grevously & sorowefullye forgo, as in seconde a manner theirowne lives: if they should altogether at ones be taken from the Utopians, no man there would thinke that he had lost the worth of one farthing.

GHEY gather also pearles by the sea side, and diamondes and carbuncles upon certen rockes, & yet they seke not for them: but by chaunce finding them, they cut and polish them. And therwith thei deck their yonge infants. Whiche like as in the first yeres of their childhod, they make muche and be fonde & proude of such ornamentes, so when they be a little more growen in yeares & discretion, perceiving that none but children do weare such toies and trifels: they lay them awaye even of their owne shamefastenesse, wythoute anye byddynge of their parentes: even as oure chyldren, when they waxe bygge, doo caste awaye nuttes, brouches, and puppettes. Therfore these lawes and customes, whiche be so farre differente from al other nations, howe divers fan-

Gemmes
& precious
stones,
toyes for
yonge child-
ren to playe
withall

tasies also and myndes they doo cause,
dydde I neuer so playnelie perceave, as
in the Ambassadours of the Anemolians.

HESE Ambassadoures came to Amaurote whiles I was there. And because they came to entreat of great and weightie matters, those three citizens a pece oute of everie citie were comen thether before them. But all the Ambassadours of the nexte countreis, whiche had bene there before, and knewe the fashions and maners of the Utopians, amonge whome they perceaved no honoure geven to sumptuous apparell, silkes to be contemned, golde also to be infamed and reprochful, were wont to come thether in verie homelye & simple araye. But the Anemolianes, because they dwell farre thence, and had very little aquaintaunce with them: hearinge that they were all apparelled a like, and that verie rudely & homely: thinkinge them not to have the thinges whiche they did not weare: being therfore more proude, then wise: determinyd in the gorgiousnes of their apparel to repre-

sente verye goddes, & wyth the brighte
shyninge and glisterynge of their gay
clothing to dasell the eyes of the silie
poore Utopians. So there came in iii.
Ambassadours with c. servauntes all
apparelled in chaungeable colours: the
moste of them in silkes: the Ambassa-
dours themselves (for at home in their
owne countrey they were noble men) in
cloth of gold, with great cheines of gold,
with golde hanginge at their eares, with
gold ringes upon their fingers, with
brouches & aglettes of gold upon their
cappes, which glistered ful of peerles
and pretious stones: to be short, trim-
med & adourned with al those thinges,
which among the Utopians were either
the punishment of bondmen, or the re-
proche of infamed persones, or elles tri-
fels for yonge children to playe withal.
Therefore it wolde have done a man good
at his harte to have sene howe proudeleye
they displayed theire pecockes fethers,
howe muche they made of theire paynt-
ed sheathes, and howe loftely they set
forth and advaunced them selfes, when
they compared their gallaunte apparrell

with the poore rayment of the Utopians. for al the people were swarmed forth in to the stretes. And on the other side it was no lesse pleasure to consider howe muche they were deceaved, and how farre they missed of their purpose, being contrary wayes taken then they thought they should have bene.

POR to the eyes of all the Utopians, excepte very fewe, which had bene in other countreys for some resonable cause, al that gorgeousnes of apparrel seemed shamefull and reprochesful. In so muche that they most reverently saluted the vilest and most abject of them for lordes: passing over the Ambassadoures themselves without any honour: judging them by their wear-
Ing of golden cheynes to be bondmen
IYea you shoulde have sene children also, that had caste away their peerles & pretious stones, when they sawe the like sticking upon the Ambassadours cap-
pes: digge & pushe theire mothers un-
der the sides, sainge thus to them. Loke
mother how great a lubbor do the yet were
peerles and precious stoones, as though

O wittie
head

he were a litel child stil. But the mother, The
yea and that also in good earnest: peace seconde
sone, saith she: I thinke he be some booke of
of the Ambassadours fooles. Some
founde faulte at theire golden cheines,
as to no use nor purpose, being so smal
& weake, that a bondeman might easely
breake them, and agayne so wyde and
large, that when it pleased him, he myght
cast them of, & runne awaye at libertye,
whether he woulde. But when the Am-
bassadoures hadde bene there a daye or
ii. & sawe so greate abundaunce of gold
so lyghtely esteimed, yea in no lesse re-
proche, then it was with them in honour:
& besides that, more golde in the cheines
& gieves of one fugitive bondman, then
all the costelye ornamente of them iii.
was worth: they beganne to abate their
courage, and for very shame layde away
al that gorgyouse arraye, wherof theye
were so proud. And specyally when they
had talked familiarlye with the Utopians,
and had learned al theire fassions and
opinions.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Doubteful
he calleth
it, either in
considera-
tion and re-
specte of
counterfeite
stones, or
elles he call-
eth doubte-
ful very lit-
tel worthe

A true saing
and a wittie

HOR they marveyle that any men
be so folyshe, as to have delite &
pleasure in the doubtful glister-
inge of a lytil tryffelynge stone, which
maye beholde annye of the starres, or
elles the sonne it selfe. Or that anyeman
is so madde, as to count him selfe the
nobler for the smaller or fyner threde of
wolle, which selfe same wol (be it now in
never so fyne a sponne threde) a shepe
did ones weare: and yet was she all that
time no other thing then a shepe 
They marveile also that golde, whych
of the owne nature is a thinge so unpro-
fyttable, is nowe amonge all people in so
hyghe estimation, that man him selfe,
by whome, yea & for the use of whome,
it is so much set by, is in muche lesse
estimation, then the golde it selfe. In so
muche that a lumpysh blockehedded
churle, and whyche hathe no more wytte
then an asse, yea and as ful of nougnty-
nes as of follye, shall have nevertheles
manye wyse and goodmen in subjectyon
and bondage, only for this, bycause he
hath a greate heape of golde. Whyche yf
it shoulde be taken from hym by anye

fortune, or by some subtyll wyle & caule of the lawe, (which no lesse then fortune dothe bothe raise up the lowe, and plucke downe the highe) and be geven to the most vyle slave and abject dryvell of all his houshalde, then shortly after he shal goo into the service of his servaunt as an augmentation or overplus beside his money.  But they muche more marvell at and detest the madnes of them, whyche to those riche men, in whose debte and daunger they be not, do give almost divine honoures, for none other consideration, but because they be riche: and yet knowing them to bee suche nigeshe penny fathers, that they be sure as longe as they live, not the worthe of one farthinge of that heape of gold shall come to them.

 THESE and such like opinions have they conceaved, partly by education, beinge brought up in that common wealth, whose lawes and customes be farre different from these kindes of folly, & partly by good litterature and learning  for though there be not many in every citie, which be ex-

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Howe muche
more witte
is in the
heades of
the Utopi-
anes then of
the common
sorte of
christianes

empte and discharged of all other laboures, and appointed only to learning, that is to saye: suche in whome even from theire very childhode they have perceaved a singular towardnes, a fyne witte, and a minde apte to good learning: yet all in their childhode be instructe in learninge. And the better parte of the people, bothe men and women througheoute all their whole lyffe doo bestowe in learninge those spare houres, which we sayde they have vacante from bodelye laboures. They be taughte learninge in theire owne natyve tong. for it is bothe copious in woordes, and also pleasaunte to the eare: and for the utteraunce of a mans minde very perfecte and sure.

GHE mooste parte of all that syde of the worlde useth the same langage, savinge that amonge the Utopians it is fyneste and pureste, & accordinge to the dyversytye of the contreys it is dyverslye alterede.

Of all these philosophers, whose names be heare famous in this parte of the worlde to us knownen, before oure cummynge thether, not as-

muche as the fame of annye of them was
cumen amonge them. And yet in Musike,
Logike, Hrythmetyke, and Geometrye
they have founde oute in a manner, all
that oure auncient philosophers have
tawghte. But as they in all thinges be
almoste equal to oure olde auncyente
clerkes, so oure newe logiciens, in sub-
styal inventions have farre passed & gone
beyonde them  for they have not de-
vysed one of all those rules of restric-
tions, amplifications and suppositions,
verye wittelye invented in the small lo-
gicalles, whyche heare oure children in
every place do learne. furtheremore they
were never yet hable to fynde out the se-
conde intentions: insomuche that none
of them all coulde ever see man himselfe
in commen, as they cal him, thoughe he
be (as you knowe) bygger then ever was
annye gyaunte, yea and poyneted to of
us even wyth our fynger  But they be
in the course of the starres, & the mov-
ynges of the heavenly spheres verye ex-
pert and cunnynge. They have also wit-
tely excogitated & divised instrumentes
of divers fassions: wherin is exactly

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Musike
Logike
Aritheme-
tike
Geometrie

In this place
semethe to
be anipping
taunte

Astronomie

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Yet amonge
christians
this geere is
highli es-
temed thies
daies

Naturall
philosophie
is a know-
ledge most
uncertein

Moral phi-
losophie

The order
of good
things

comprehended and conteyned the movynges and situations of the sonne, the mone, and of al the other starres, which appere in theire horizon. But as for the amityes & dissentions of the planettes, and all that deceytesful divination by the starres, they never asmuch as dreamed therof. Raynes, windes, & other courses of tempestes they knowe before by certeine tokens, which they have learned by long use & observation. But of the causes of al these thinges and of the ebbing, flowinge, & saltenes of the sea, and finallye of the original begynnyng & nature of heaven and of the worlde, they holde partelye the same opinions that oure olde philosophers hold, & partely, as our philosophers varye among themselves, so they also, whiles they bringe newe reasons of thinges, do disagree from all them, and yet among themselves in all poyntes they doe not accorde. In that part of philosophie, which intreateth of manners and vertue, theire reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualityes of the sowle, of the body, and of fortune. And whether the

name of goodnes maye be applied to all these, or onlye to the endowmentes and giftes of the soule.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

HEY reason of vertue and pleasure. But the chiefe and principall question is, in what thinge, be it one or moe, the felicitye of man consistethe. But in this poynte they seme almooste to muche geven and enclyned to the opinion of them which defende pleasure, wherein they determine either all or the chiefyste parte of mans felicitye to reste. And (whyche is more to bee marveled at) the defense of this soo deyntyne and delicate an opinion, they fetche even from theire grave, sharpe, bytter, and rygorous religion. for they never dispute of felicity or blessednes, but they joyne unto the reasons of philosophye certeyne principles taken oute of religion: wythoute the whyche, to the investigacion of trewe felicitye, they thynke reason of it selfe weake and unperfecte.

The endes
of good
thinges

The Utopi-
anes holde
opynion
that felyc-
tie consist-
ethe in hon-
est pleasure

The princi-
ples of phi-
losophye
grounded
upon reli-
gion

HOSE principles be these & such lyke. That the soule is immortal: & by the bountiful goodnes of God ordeined to felicitie. That to our vertues

The theolo-
gie of the
Utopianes

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The immor-
talite of the
soule, wher-
of these
dayes cer-
teine Chris-
tianes be in
doubte

As every
pleasure
ought not
to be im-
braced, so
grefe is not
to be pursu-
ed but for
virtues sake

and good deades, rewardes be appointed
after this life, & to our evel deades pun-
ishmentes. Though these be perteyn-
ing to religion, yet they thincke it mete
that they shoulde be beleved & graunted
by profes of reason. But yf these prin-
ciples were condempned and dysanulled,
then without anye delaye they pronounce
noman to be so folish, whiche woulde not
do all his diligence and endevoure to ob-
teyne pleasure by ryght or wronge, onlye
avoydynge this inconvenience, that the
lesse pleasure should not be a let or hin-
deraunce to the bigger: or that he labour-
ed not for that pleasure, whiche would
bringe after it displeasure, greefe, and
sorrow. for they judge it extreame mad-
nes to folowe sharp and peinful vertue,
and not only to bannishe the pleasure of
life, but also willingly to suffer grieve,
without anye hope of proffit thereof en-
suinge. for what proffit can there be, if a
man, when he hath passed over all his lyfe
unpleasauntly, that is to say, miserablye,
shall have no rewarde after his death? But
nowe syr, they thinke not felicitie to
reste in all pleasure, but only in that plea-

sure that is good and honeste, and that hereto, as to perfet blessednes our nature is allured & drawen even of vertue, whereto onlye they that be of the contrary opinion do attribute felicitie. for they define vertue to be life ordered according to nature, & that we be here untoordeined of god. And that he dothe followe the course of nature, which in desiering and refusinge thinges is ruled by reason. Furthermore that reason doth chiefely & principallye kendle in men the love and veneration of the devine majestie. Of whose goodnes it is that we be, & that we be in possibilite to attayne felicite. And that secondarely it bothe stirrethe and provoketh us to leade our lyfe oute of care in joy and mirth, & also moveth us to helpe and further all other in respecte of the societe of nature to obteine and enjoye the same. for there was never man so earnest and painful a follower of vertue and hater of pleasure, that wold so injoyne you laboures, watchinges, and fastinges, but he would also exhort you to ease, lighten, & relieve, to your powre, the lack & misery of others,

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

In this definition of
virtue they
agree with
the Stoici-
ans

The worke
and effecte
of reason
in man

praysing the same as a dede of humaniti, and pitie. Then if it be a poynte of humaniti for man to bring health and conforte to man, & speciallye (which is a vertue moste peculiarlye belonging to man) to mitigate and assuage the greife of others, and by takyng from them the sorowe and hevynes of lyfe, to restore them to joye, that is to saye to pleasure: whie maye it not then be sayd, that nature doth provoke everye man to doo the same to himselfe?

But nowe a
daies some
ther bee that
wyllinglye
procure
unto them-
selves paine,
full grieves,
as thoughe
therin rest-
ed some
hieghe
pointe of re-
ligion, where,
as rather thereligiously disposed person, yf they hap-
pen to him either by chaunce or elles by naturall neces-
sitie, ought pacientlye to receave and suffer them.

EOR a joyfull lyfe, that is to say, a pleasaunt lyfe is either evel: and if it be so, then thou shouldest not onlye helpe no man therto, but rather, as much as in the lieth, withdrawe all men frome it, as noysome & hurteful, or els if thou not only mayste, but also of dewty art bound to procure it to others, whynot chievely to thy selfe? To whome thou art bound to shew as much favoure and gen-
telnes as to other. for when nature bid-
deth the to be good and gentle to other

she commaundeth the not to be cruell
& ungentle to thy selfe. Therefore even
very nature, saye they, prescribeth to us
a joyful lyfe, that is to say, pleasure as
the ende of all oure operations. And
they define vertue to be lyfe ordered ac-
cordynge to the prescripte of nature. But
in that, that nature dothe allure and pro-
voke men one to healpe another to lyve
merily (which suerly she doth not with-
out a good cause: for no man is so farre
above the lotte of mans state or condi-
tion, that nature dothe carke and care for
hym onlye, whiche equallye favoureteth
all that be comprehended under the com-
munion of one shape forme and fassion)
verely she commaundeth the to use dili-
gent circumspection, that thou do not so
seke for thine owne commodities, that
thou procure others incommodities.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Bargaynes
and Lawes

WHEREFOR^E theire opinion is,
that not only covenantes and
bargaynes made amonge pri-
vatemen ought to be well and faytheful-
lye fulfilled, observed, and kepte, but al-
so commen lawes, which either a good
prince hathe justly publyshed, or els the

people neither oppressed with tyrannye, neither deceaved by fraude & gyell, hath by theire common consent constituted & ratifyed, concerninge the particion of the commodities of lyfe, that is to say, the matter of pleasure. These lawes not offended, it is wysdome, that thou looke to thine own wealthe. And to doe the same for the common wealth is no lesse then thy duetie, if thou bearest any reverent love, or any naturall zeale & affection to thy native countreye. But to go about to let an other man of his pleasure, whiles thou procurest thine owne, that is open wrong. Contrary wyse to withdrawe somethinge from thy selfe to geve to other, that is a pointe of humanitie and gentilnes: whiche never taketh awaye so muche commoditie, as it bringethe a-gayne. for it is recompensed with the retourne of benefytes; & the conscience of the good dede, with the remembraunce of the thankefull love and benevolence of them to whom thou hast done it, doth bryngemore pleasure to thy mynde, then that whiche thou hast withholden from thy selfe coulde have brought to thy bo-

dye  finallye (which to a godly disposed and a religious mind is easy to be persuaded) God recompenseth the gifte of a short and smal pleasure with great and everlastinge joye. Therfore the matter diligently weyede & considered, thus they thinke, that all our actions, and in them the vertues themselves be referred at the last to pleasure, as their ende and felicitie.

The seconde booke of
Utopia

PLEASURE they call every motion and state of the bodie or mynde, wherin man hath naturally delectation.  Appetite they joyne to nature, and that not without a good cause. for like as, not only the senses, but also right reason coveteth whatsoever is naturally pleasaunt, for that it may be gotten without wrong or injurie, not letting or debarring a greater pleasure, nor causing painful labour, even so those thinges that men by vaine ymagination do fayne against nature to be pleasaunt (as though it laye in their power to chaunge the thinges, as they do the names of thinges) al suche pleasures they beleve to be of so small helpe and

The definition of pleasure

False and counterfeate pleasures

furtheraunce to felicitie, that they counte them a great let & hinderaunce. Because that in whom they have ones taken place, all his mynde they possesse with a false opinion of pleasure. So that there is no place left for true and naturall delecta-
tions. for there be many thinges, which of their owne nature conteyne no plesaun-
nes: yea the moste parte of them muche grieve & sorrowe. And yet throughe the perverse & malicyous flickeringe intice-
mentes of lewde and unhoneste desyres, be taken not only for speciall and sover-
eigne pleasures, but also be counted a-
monge the chiefe causes of life. ¶ In this counterfeat kinde of pleasure they put them that I spake of before; whiche the better gownes they have on, the bet-
ter men they thinke them selfes. In the which thing they doo twyse erre. for they be no lesse deceaved in that they thinke theire gowne the better, than they be, in that they thinke themselves the better. ¶ for if you consider the profitable use of the garmente, whye should wulle of a fynner sponne threde, be thought better then the wul of a course sponne threde?

Yet they, as though the one did passe the other by nature, and not by their mistak- yng, avaunce themselfes, and thinke the price of their owne persones thereby greatly encreased. ¶ And therefore the honour, which in a course gowne they durste not have loked for, they require, as it were of dewtie, for theyr fyner gownes sake. And if they be passed by without reverence, they take it displeasauntly and disdainfullye.

AND agayne, is it not a lyke madnes to take a prude in vayne & unprofit- able honours? for what naturall or trewe pleasure doest thou take of an oth- er mans bare hede, or bowed knees? Will this ease the paine of thy knees, or reme- die the phrensie of thy hede? In this ym- age of counterfeite pleasure, they be of a marvelous madnesse, whiche for the o- pinion of nobilitie, rejoysse muche in their owne conceyte. Because it was their for- tune to come of such auncetoures, whose stocke of longe tyme hathe bene counted ryche (for nowe nobilitie is nothinge elles) speciallye riche in landes. And though their auncetours left them not one foote

folish
honore

Vaine no-
bilitie

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Pleasure in
precious
stones
most folish

The opini-
on & fansie
of people
doth aug-
ment and
diminishe
the price &
estimation
of precious
stones

of lande, or els they themselves have pys-
sed it agaynst the walles, yet they thinke
themselves not the lesse noble therfore
of one heare. In this number also they
counte them that take pleasure & delite,
as I said, in gemmes & precious stones,
& thynke themselves almooste goddes,
if they chaunce to gette an excellente one,
speciallye of that kynde, whiche in that
tyme of theirowne countre men is had in
hyghest estimation. for one kynde of
stone kepeth not his prycce stylle in all
countreis, and at all times. Nor they bye
them not, but taken out of the golde, and
bare: no nor so neither, untyll they have
made the seller to sweare that he will war-
raunte & assure it to be a true stone, and
no counterfeit gemme. Such care they
take lest a counterfeite stone should de-
ceave their eyes in steade of a ryghte
stone. But why shouldest thou not take
even as muche pleasure in beholdynge a
counterfeite stone, whiche thine eye can-
not discerne from a righte stone? They
shoulde bothe be of lyke value to thee,
even as to the blynde man.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Beholders
of treasure,
not occu-
pyng the
same

Hyders of
treasure

A pretie
fiction and
a wittie

WHAT shall I saye of them that kepe superfluous riches, to take delectation only in the beholdinge, and not in the use or occupiynge thereof? Do they take trew pleasure, or elles be thei deceaved with false pleasure? Or of them that be in a contrarie vise, hidinge the gold whiche they shall never occupye, nor peradventure never se more? Andwhiles they take care leaste they shall leese it, do leese it in dede, for what is it elles, when they hyde it in the ground, takynge it bothe frome their owne use, & perchaunce frome all other mennes also? And yet thou, when thou haste hydde thy treasure, as one out of all care, hoppest for joye. The whiche treasure, yf it shoulde chaunce to bee stolen, & thou, ignoraunt of the thefte, shouldest dye tenne yeares after: all that tenne yeares space that thou lyvedest af-
ter thy money was stoolen, what matter was it to thee, whether it hadde bene tak-
en awaye or elles safe as thou lefteste it? Trewlye bothe wayes like profytte came to thee.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Dice playe

Huntinge &
hawkinge

Hunting the
basest parte
of bouchers
among the
Utopians,
and yet this
is nowe the
exercise of
most noble
men

GO these so foolysh pleasures they
joyne dicers, whose madnesse they
knowe by hearsay, and not by use.
Hunters also, & hawkers. for what plea-
sure is there, saye they, in castinge the
dice upon a table, which thou hast done
so often, that if there wer any pleasure
in it, yet the oft use might make thee
werie thereof?  Or what delite can there
be, & not rather dyspleasure in hearynge
the barkynge and howlynge of dogges?
Or what greater pleasure is there to be
felte, when a dogge followeth an hare,
then when a dogge followeth a dogge?
for one thinge is done in bothe, that is
to saye, runnynge, yf thou haste plea-
sure therin.  But yf the hope of slau-
ter, and the expectation of tearynge in
peces the beaste doth please thee: thou
shouldest rather be moved with pitie to
see a selye innocente hare murdered of a
dogge: the weake of the stronger, the
fearefull of the feare, the innocente of
the cruell and unmercyfull.

GHEREFORE all thys exercyse
of huntynge, as a thynge unwor-
thye to be used of free men, the

Utopians have rejected to their bouchers, to the whiche crafte, as we sayde before, they appointe their bondemen. for they counte huntyng the lowest, the vyleste, and mooste abjecte part of boucherie, and the other partes of it more profitable, & more honeste, as bryngynge muche more commoditie, in that they kyll beastes onely for necessitie; where as the hunter seketh nothinge but pleasure of the see, lye & wofull beastes slaughter and murder. The whiche pleasure in beholdinge deathe, they thinke doeth rise in the very beastes, either of a cruel affection of mind, or els to be chaunged in continuance of time into crueltie, by longe use of so cruell a pleasure. These therfore and all suche like, whiche be innumerable, though the common sorte of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, seing there is no natural pleasauntes in them, do playnly determine them to have noaf, finitie with trew and right pleasure, for as touchinge that they do commonlye move the sense wyth delectation (whiche semeth to be a woorke of pleasure) this doeth nothynge diminishe their opini-

on. for not the nature of the thing, but their perverse and lewde custome is the cause hereof. Whiche causeth them to accept bitter or sowre thynges for swete thynges. Even as women with child in their viciate and corrupte taste, thynke pytche & tallowe sweter then any honey. Howbeit no mannes judgemente depraved and corrupte, either by syckenese, or by custome, can chaunge the nature of pleasure, more then it can do the nature of other thinges.

The kindes
of trew plea-
sures

GHEY make divers kindes of pleasures, for some they attribute to the soule, and some to the body. To the soule they geve intelligence, and that delectation that commethe of the contemplation of trewth. Hereunto is joyned the pleasaunte remembraunce of the good lyfe paste. The pleasure of the bodye they devide into ii. partes. The first is when delectation is sensibly felt & perceaved. Whiche many times chaunceth by the renewing and refreshing of those partes, whiche oure naturall heate drieth up. This commeth by meate and drynke. And sometymes whyles those

The plea-
sures of the
bodye

thynges be expulsed, and voyded, wher-
of is in the body over great abundaunce.
This pleasure is felt, when we do our na-
tural easement, or when we be doyng the
acte of generation, or when the ytchinge
of any part is eased with rubbyng or
scratchyng. Sometimes pleasure ris-
eth exhibitinge to any membre nothyng
that it desireth, nor takynge from it any
paine that it feeleth, which neverthelesse
tikleth and moveth oure senses wyth a
certeine secrete efficacie, but with a mani-
fest motion turnethe them to it. As is
that whiche commeth of musicke.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

GHE seconde parte of bodely plea-
sure, they say, is that which con-
sisteth and resteth in the quiete
and upryghte state of the bodye. And
that trewlye is everye mannes owne pro-
pre health entermingled and disturbed
with no grieve, for this, yf it be not let-
ted nor assaulted with nogreif, is delect-
able of it selfe, thoughe it be moved with
no externall or outwarde pleasure. for
though it be not so plain and manyfeste
to the sense, as the gredye luste of eat-
ynge and drynkynge, yet neverthelesse

Bodily
health

manye take it for the chiefeſte pleasure. All the Utopians graunt it to be a right ſovereigne pleasure, and as you woulde ſaye the foundation and grounde of all pleaſures, as whiche even alone is hable to make the ſtate and condition of life delectable and pleasaunt. And it beyng once taken awaye, there is no place leſte for any pleaſure. for to be without greife not havinge health, that they call unſenſibilitie, and not pleaſure.

HE Utopians have long a go rejectēd and condenmpned the opinion of them, whiche ſayde that ſtedfaſte and quiete healthe (for this queſtion alſo haſte bene diligently debated amonge them) oughte not therfore to be counted a pleaſure, bycause they ſayde it can not be preſentlye and ſenſiblē perceaved & felte by ſome outwarde motion. But of the contrarie parte nowe they agree almooste all in this, that healthe is a mooſt ſovereigne pleaſure, for ſeynge that in ſyckneſſe, ſayde they, is greiffe, whiche is a mortal enemie to pleaſure, even as ſickneſſe is to health, why ſhould not then pleaſure be in the quietnes of health? for

they say it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you saye that sycknesse is a griefe, or that in sickenes is griefe, for all commethe to one purpose. for whether health be a pleasure it selfe, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fier is of heate, true, lye bothe wayes it foloweth, that they can- not be withoute pleasure, that be in per- fect helth. furthermore whiles we eat, say they, then healthe, whiche beganne to be appayred, fighteth by the helpe of foode againste hunger. In the which fight, whiles health by litle and litle getteth the upper hande, that same procedyng, and (as ye would say) that onwardnes to the wonte strength ministreth that pleasure, wherby we be so refreshed. Health therfore, whiche in the conflict is joyefull, shall it not bemery, when it hath gootten the victorie? But as soone as it hathe re- covered the pristinate strength, which thing onely in all the fight it coveted, shal it incontinent be astonied? Nor shal it not know nor imbrace the owne wealth and goodnes? for where it is said, healthe can not be felt: this, they thinke, is nothing trew. for what man wakyng, saye they, fel-

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Delectation

The plea-
sures of the
mynde

ethe not himselfe in health : but he that is not? Is there anye man so possessed with stonishe insensibilitie, or with lethargie, that is to say, the sleping sicknes, that he will not graunt healthe to be acceptable to him, and delectable? But what other thinge is delectation, than that whiche by an other name is called pleasure?

HE Y imbrace chieflie the pleasures of themind. for them they counte the chiefist & most principall of all. The chiefe parte of them they thinke doth come of the exercise of vertue, & conscience of good life. Of these pleasures that the body ministreth, they geve the preeminence to helth. for the delight of eating and drinking, & whatsoeuer hath any like pleasauntnes, they determyne to be pleasures muche to be desired, but no other wayes than for healthes sake. forsuche thinges of their own proper nature benot so pleasaunt, but in that they resiste sickenesse privelie stealing on. Therfore like as it is a wise mans part, rather to avoid sicknes, then to wishe for medicines, & rather to drive away & put to

flight carefull grieves, then to call for com- The
fort: so it is muche better not to neade seconde
this kinde of pleasure, then thereby to be booke of
eased of the contrarie grieve. The whiche Utopia
kinde of pleasure, yf anye man take for
his felicitie, that man must nedes graunt,
that then he shalbe in most felicitie, if he
live that lifewhich is led in continuall hun-
ger, thurste, itchinge, eatinge, drynk-
ynge, scratchynge, & rubbing. The which
life how not only foule, & unhonest, but
also howe miserable and wretched it is,
who perceveth not? These doubtles be
the basest pleasures of al, as unpure and
unperfect. for they never come, but ac-
companied with their contrarie grieves.
As with the pleasure of eating is joyned
hunger, and that after no very egal sort.
for of these ii. the grieve is both the more
vehement, and also of longer continu-
aunce. for it beginneth before the plea-
sure, and endeth not until the pleasure
die with it. Wherefore suche pleasures
they thinke not greatlye to be set by,
but in that thei be necessari.  Howbeit
they have delite also in these, and thank-
fulli knowledge that tender love of mo-

ther nature, which with most pleasaunt delectation allureth her children to that, to the necessarie use wherof they must from time to time continually be forced and driven. for how wretched and miserable should our life be, if these dailie greffes of hunger and thurst coulde not be driven awaye, but with bitter potions, & sower medicines, as the other diseases be, wherwith we be seldomer troubled? But beutie, strengthe, nemblenes, these as peculiar and pleasaunt giftes of nature they make much of.

BUT those pleasures that be receaved by the eares, the eyes, and the nose, whiche nature willeth to be proper & peculiar to man (for no other livinge creature doth behold the fairenes and the bewtie of the worlde, or is moved with any respecte of favours, but onely for the diversitie of meates, neither perceaveth the concordaunte and discordant distaunces of soundes and tunes) these pleasures, I say, they accept and alowe as certen pleasaunte rejoysinges of life. But in all thinges this cautel they use, that a lesse pleasure

hinder not a bigger, & that the pleasure be no cause of displeasure, whiche they thinke to folow of necessitie, if the pleasure be unhoneste.  But yet to dispise the comlines of bewtie, to wast the bodie strength, to turne nimblenes into sloughishnesse, to consume and make feble the bodie with fastinge, to do injurie to healthe, and to rejecte the pleasaunte motions of nature, onles a man neglecte these commodities, whiles he dothe with a fervent zeale procure the wealthe of others, or the commen profite, for the whiche pleasure forborne, he is in hoope of a greater pleasure at goddes hande, elles for a vaine shaddow of vertue, for the wealth and profite of no man, to punishe himselfe, or to the intente he maye be hable courragiouslie to suffer adversite: whiche perchaunce shall never come to him, this to do they thinke it a point of extreame madnes, and a token of a man cruellye minded towardes himselfe, & unkind towardes nature, as one so disdaining to be in her daunger, that he renounceth & refuseth all her benefites.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Marke this
well

The wealth
& descrip-
tion of the
Utopians

HIS is their sentence and opinion of vertue and pleasure. And they beleve that by mans reason none can be found trewer then this, onles any godlyer be inspired into man from heven. Wherin, whether they beleve well or no, neither the time doth suffer us to discusse, neither it is nowe necessarie. for we have taken upon us to shewe and declare their laws and ordinaunces, and not to defende them. But this thynge I beleve verely: howe soever these decrees be, that there is in no place of the world, neyther a more excellent people, neyther a more flourishyng commen wealth. They be lyghte and quicke of bodie, full of activitie and nimblenes, and of more strength then a man woulde judge them by their stature, which for all that is not to lowe. And though theyr soyle be not verie frutefull, nor their aier very wholesome, yet againste the ayer they so defende them with temperate diete, and so order and husbande their grounde with diligente travaile, that in no countrey is greater increase, & plentye of corne and cattell, nor mens bodies of longer lyfe,

and subject or apte to fewer diseases. The
There, therfore, a man maye see well and diligentlie exploited and furnished, not
onelye those thinges whiche husbande-
men do commenly in other countreis, as
by craft & cunninge to remedie the bar-
rennes of the grounde: but also a whole
wood by the handes of the people pluck-
ed up by the rootes in one place, and set
againe in an other place. Wherein was had
regard and consideration, not of plenty,
but of commodious carriage, that wood
and timber might be nigher to the sea,
or the rivers, or the cities. For it is lesse
laboure and businesse to carrie grayne
farre by land, than wood.

HE people be gentle, merie, quicke,
& fynewitted, delitinge in quietnes,
and when nede requireth, hable to a-
bide & suffer much bodelie laboure. Els
they be not greatly desirous & fond of it:
but in the exercise & studie of the mind
they be never wery  When they had
herd me speak of the greke literature or
lerning (for in latin there was nothing
that I thought they would greatly alow,
besides historiens & Poetes) they made

The utilitie
of the greke
tonge

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

A wonder-
full aptnes
to learninge
in the Uto-
pians

But now
most block-
hededasses
be sette to
learninge,
and most
pregnaunt
wittes cor-
rupt with
pleasures

wonderfullearneste & importunate sute unto me that I would teach & instructe them in that tonge and learninge. I beganne therfore to reade unto them, at the first truelie more because I would not seme to refuse the laboure, then that I hooped that they would anything profite therein. But when I had gone forward a little, I perceaved incontinente by their diligence, that my laboure should not be bestowed in vaine. for they began so easelie to fashion their letters, so plainlie to pronounce the woordes, so quickelie to learne by hearte, and so suerlie to rehearse the same, that I marvailed at it, savinge that the most parte of them were fine and chosen wittes and of ripe age, piked oute of the companie of the learned men, whiche not onelie of their owne free and voluntarie will, but also by the commaundemente of the counsell, undertoke to learne this language. Therefore in lesse then thre yeres space there was nothing in the Greke tonge that they lacked. They were hable to rede good authors withoute aniestayre, if the booke were not false. This kynde

of learninge, as I suppose, they toke so
muche the sooner, bycause, it is sum-
what allyaunte to them  for I thinke
that this nation tooke their beginninge
of the Grekes, bycause their speche,
which in al other poyntes is not much
unlyke the Persian tonge, kepereth dyvers
signes and tokens of the greke langage
in the names of their cityes, & of theire
magistrates  They have of me (for
when I was determinyd to entre into my
iiii. voyage, I caste into the shippe, in the
steade of marchandise, a prety fardel of
bookes, bycause I intended to come a-
gaine rather never than shortly) they
have, I saye, of me the moste parte of
Platoes workes, more of Aristotles,
also Theophrastus of plantes, but in
divers places (which I am sorye for) un-
perfecte. forwhiles we were a shipborde,
a marmoset chaunced upon the booke,
as it was negligentlye layde by, which
wantonlye playinge therewyth plucked
oute certeyne leaves, and toore them in
pieces  Of them that have wrytten the
grammer, they have onelye Lascaris. for
Theodorus I caried not wyth me, nor

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Phisike
hieghly
regarded

never a dictionarye, but Hesichius, and
Dioscorides. They sett greate stoore
by Plutarches bookes. And they be de-
lyted wyth Lucianes mery conceytes and
jestes. Of the Poetes they have Aristo-
phanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sopho-
cles in Aldus small prynnte. Of the His-
torians they have Thucidides, Herodo-
tus, and Herodian. Also my compan-
ion, Tricius Apinatus, caried with him
phisick bokes, certein smal woorkes of
Hippocrates and Galenes Microtechne.
The whyche boke they have in greate es-
timation. for thoughe there be almost
no nation under heaven that hath lesse
nede of phisicke than they, yet this not-
withstanding, phisicke is no where in
greater honour. Bycause they counte the
knowledge of it among the goodlyeste,
and most profytable partes of philos-
ophie. for whyles they by the helpe of
this philosophie searche oute the se-
crete mysteryes of nature, they thinke
themselves to receave therby not onlye
wonderfull greate pleasure, but also to
obteine great thankes and favour of the
autour and maker therof.

W^HOME they thinke according to the fassion of other artificers, to have set furth the mar-
velous and gorgious frame of the world for man with great affeccion intentively to beholde. Whom only he hath made of witte and capacitie to considre and un-
derstand the excellencie of so great a woork. And therefore he beareth, say they, more goodwil and love to the curi-
ous and diligent beholder and vewer of his woork & marvelour at the same, then he doth to him, which like a very brute beaste without witte and reason, or as one without sense or moving, hathe no regarde to soo greate & so wonderfull a spectacle. The wittes therefore of the Utopians inuredede and exercised in learn-
yng, be marvelous quycke in the inven-
tion of feates helpinge annye thinge to the advantage & wealthie of lyffe. Howe-
beit ii. feates theye maye thanke us for. That is, the scyence of imprinting, and the crafte of makinge paper. And yet not onelye us but chiefelye and princi-
pallye themselves.

EOR when we shewed to them Aldus his print in booke of paper, & told them of the stiffe wherof paper is made, & of the feate of graving letters, speaking sumwhat more then we colde plainlye declare (for there was none of us that knewe perfectlye either the one or the other) they furthwith very wittely conjectured the thinge. And where as before they wrote onely in skinnes, in barkes of tryes, and in rides, nowe they have attempted to make paper and to imprint letters. And though at the first yt proved not all of the beste, yet by often assayinge the same they shortelye got the feate of bothe. And have so broughte the matter aboute, that yf they had copyes of Greeke authores, they coulde lacke no booke. But nowe they have no moore then I rehearsed before, savinge that by prynge of booke they have multiplied & increased the same into manye thousandes of copies.

WHOSOEVER cummethe thereto see the lande, beinge excellent in anye gifte of wytte,

or throughemuche and longe journienge The
wel experiensed and sene in the knowe- seconde
ledg of many countreies (for the whyche booke of
cause wee were very welcome to them) Utopia
him they receyve & interteyne wonders
gentilly & lovinglye. for they have delite
to heare what is done in every lande, how-
beit verye fewe marchaunte men come
thether ~~for~~ for what shoulde they bring
thether, onles it were iron, or els gold and
silver, whiche they hadde rather carrye
home agayne? Also such thinges as are
to be caryed oute of theire lande, they
thinke it more wysedome to carry that
gere furthe themselves, then that other
shoulde come thether to fetche it, to then-
tente they maye the better knowe the out
landes on every syde of them, and kepe
in ure the feate & knowledge of sailinge.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

A marvel-
ous equitie
of this na-
tion

Of Bondemen, sicke persons, wedlocke,
and divers other matters. ☈ ☈



HEV neither make bondemen of pris-
oners taken in bat-
tayle, oneles it be in battaylle that they foughte them
selfes, nor of bond-
mens children, nor
to be short, of anye
suche as they canne
gette oute of forreine countries, though
he were there a bondman. But either
suche as amonge themselves for hein-
ous offences be punyshed with bond-
age, or elles suche as in the cities of
other landes for great trespasses be con-
demned to deathe. And of this sort of
bondemen they have mooste stoore.

AOR manye of them they bringe
home, sumtimes payinge very ly-
tle for them, yea mooste common-
lye gettynge them for gramecye. These
sortes of bondemen they kepe not onely
in continualwoorke & labour, but also in
bandes. But their oun men they handle

hardest, whom they judge more desperate, & to have deserved greater punishment, bycause they being so godlye broughte up to vertue in soo excelente a common wealth, could not for all that be refreined from misdoing. An other kinde of bondemen they have, when a vile drudge, being a poore laborer in an other country, doth chuese of his owne free wyll to be a bondman among them. These they intreate and order honestly, and enterteine almoste as gentellye, as theire owne free cytyzeins, savyng that they put them to a lyttle more laboure, as thereto accustomed. Yf annye suche be disposed to departe thens, whiche selome is seene, they neither holde him agaist his wyll, neither sende him away with emptye handes.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

HE sycke, as I sayde, they see to Of them
that be
sicke with great affection, & lettenothing at al passe concerning either phisycke or good diete, whereby they may be restored againe to their health. Such as be sick of incurable diseases they conforte with sittinge by them, with talkinge with them, & to be shorte, with

all maner of helpe that may be. But yf the disease be not onelye uncurable, but also fullof contynuall payne & anguishe: then the priestes and the magistrates exhort the man, seinge he is not hable to doo anye dewty of lyffe, and by overlyvinge his owne deathe is noysome & irkesome to other, and grevous to himselfe, that he wyl determine with himselfe no longer to cheryshe that pestilent & peinesful disease. And seinge his lyfe is to him but a torment, that he wyl not bee unwillinge to dye, but rather take a good hope to him, and either dispatche himselfe out of that payneful lyffe, as out of a prison, or a racke of torment, or elles suffer himselfe wyllinglye to be rydde oute of it by other. And in so doinge they tell him he shall doo wysely, seing by his deathe he shall lise no commoditye, but ende his payne. And bycause in that acte he shall followe the counsel of the prystes, that is to saye, of the interpreters of goddes wyll and pleasure, they shewe him that he shall do lyke a godly and a vertuous man. They that be thus persuaded, finyshe theire lives will-

ynghye, either with hunger, or elles dye
in theire sleape without anye fealinge of
deathe. But they cause none suchetodye
agaynste his wyll, nor they use no lesse
diligence and attendaunce aboute him:
belevinge this to be an honorable deathe.
Elles he that killeth himselfe before that
the prystes & the counsel have allowed
the cause of his deathe, him as unworthy
either to be buryed, or with fier to be con-
sumed, they caste unburied into some
stinkinge marrish.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

GHE woman is not maried before
she be xviii yeres olde. **T**he man
is iiii yeres elder before he marye.
If either the man or the woman be proved
to have actually offended before theire
marriage, with an other, the partye that so
hathe trespaced is sharpelye punished.
And bothe the offenders be forbidden
ever after in al theire lyfe to marrye: one-
les the faulte be forgeven by the princes
pardone. But bothe the good man & the
good wyfe of the house, where that of-
fense was committed, as beinges slacke &
neglygent in lokinge to theire chardge,
be in daunger of greate reproche and in-

Of wed-
locke

Thoughe
not verie
honestly,
yet not un-
wiselye

famye  That offense is so sharplye punyshed, because they perceave, that onles they be diligentlye kepte from the libertye of this vice, fewe wyll joyne together in the love of marriage, wherein all the lyfe must be led with one, and also all the grieves & displeasures comming therewith paciently be taken and borne.

AURTHERMORE in chuesinge wifes & husbandes they observe earnestly & straytelye a custome, whiche seemed to us very fonde and folyshe. for a sad and an honest matrone sheweth the woman, bese she mayde or widowe, naked to the wower. And lykewyse a sage and discrete man exhibyteth the wower naked to the woman. At this custome we laughed, & disallowed it as foolishe. But they on the other part doo greatlye wonder at the follye of al other nations, whyche in byinge a colte, where as a lytle money is in hasarde, beso charye and circumspecte, that thoughe he be almoste all bare, yet they wyll not bye hym, oneles the saddel and all the harneies be taken of, leaste under those coverynges be hydde som galle or soore. And yet in

chuesinge a wyfe, whyche shalbe either pleasure or displeasure to them all theire lyfe after, they be so recheles, that al the resydewe of the woomans bodye beinge covered with cloothes, they esteme her scaselye be one handebredeth (for they can se no more but her face), and so to joyne her to them not without greate jeoperdye of evel agreinge together, yf any thing in her body afterward should chaunce to offend and myslyke them, for all men be not so wyse, as to have respecte to the vertuous conditions of the partie. And the endowmentes of the bodye cause the vertues of the minde more to be esteemed and regarded: yea even in themariages of wysemen. Verely so foule deformitie maye be hydde under those coveringes, that it maye quite alienate & take awaye the mans mynde from his wyfe, when it shal not be lawful for theire bodies to be separate agayne. If suche deformitie happen by any chaunce after the mariage is consummate and finyshed, wel, there is no remedie but patience. Every man muste take his fortune wel a worthe. But it were wel done that a lawe

were made whereby all suche deceytes
myghte be eschewed, and advoyded be-
fore hande.

AND this were they constreyned
more earnestlye to looke upon,
because they onlye of the nations
in that parte of the worlde bee contente
everye man with one wyfe a piece. And
matrymoneie is there never broken, but
by death: excepte adulterye breake the
bonde, or els the intollerable wayewarde
maners of either partye. for if either of
them finde themselfe for any such cause
greved: they maye by the license of the
counsel chaunge and take another. But
the other partie lyveth ever after in in-
famy, & out of wedlocke. Howebeit the
husbande to put away his wife for no
other faulte, but for that some mys-
happe is fallen to her bodye, this by no
meanes they wyll suffre. for they judge
it a great poynt of crueltie, that anye
body in their moste nede of helpe and
comforde, shoulde be caste of and for-
saken, & that oldeage, whych both bring-
eth sicknes with it, and is a syckenes it
selfe, should unkindly & unfaythfullye

be delte withall. But nowe and then it
chaunseth, where as the man and the
woman cannot well agree betwene them-
selfes, both of them fyndinge other,
with whome they hope to lyvemore quiet-
lye & merylye, that they by the full con-
sent of them bothe be divorsed a sonder
and maried again to other. But that not
without the authoritie of the counsell,
whiche agreeth to no divorces, before
they and their wyfes have diligently tried
and examyned the matter. Yea and then
also they be lothe to consent to it, by-
cause they know this to be the next way
to break love betwene man & wyfe, to be
in easye hope of a new mariage. Break-
ers of wedlocke be punyshed with mooste
grevous bondage. And if both the offend-
ers were maried, then the parties whiche
in that behalfe have suffereded wrong, be-
inge divorsed from theavoutrers, be ma-
ried together, if they wille, or els to whom
they lust. But if either of them both do
styl continewe in love towardesounkinde
a bedfellowe, the use of wedlocke is not
to them forbidden, if the partye faulte-
les be disposed to followe in toylinge &

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

drudgerye the person, which for that of-
fence is condempned to bondage. And
very ofte it chaunceth that the repen-
tance of the one, & the earneste diligence
of the other, dothe somove the prince with
pytie & compassion, that he restoreth the
bonde persone from servitude to libertie
and fredom again. But if the same partie
be taken eftsones in that faulte, there is
no otherwaye but death. To other tres-
paces no prescript punishmente is ap-
poynted by anye lawe. But accordinge to
the heynousenes of the offense, or con-
trarye, so the punishmente is moder-
ated by the discretion of the counsell.
The husbandes chastice theire wifes: &
the parentes theire children, oneles they
have done anye so horrable an offense,
that the open punyshemente thereof
maketh muche for the advauncemente of
honeste maners. But moste commenlye
the moste heynous faultes be punyshed
with the incommoditie of bondage. for
that they suppose to be to the offenders
no lesse grieve, & to the common wealth
more profit, then yf they should hastely
put them to death, & so make them quite

out of the waye. for there cummeth more profit of theire laboure, then of theire deathe, and by theire example they feare other the longer from lyke offenses. But if they beinge thus used, doo rebell and kicke againe, then forsothe they beslayne as desperate and wilde beastes, whom neither prison nor chaine coulde restraine and kepe under. But they whiche take theire bondage pacientlye, be not lefte all hopeles. for after they have bene broken & tamed with longe miseries, if then thei shewe such repentaunce, as therebye it maye bee perceaved that they be soryer for theire offense then for theire punyshe- mente: sumtymes by the Prynces pre-rogatyve, & sumtymes by the voyce and consent of the people, theire bondage ei- ther is mitigated, or els cleane released and forgeven. He that moveth to ad- voutreye is in no lesse daunger and jeo- perdie, then yf he hadde committed ad- voutreye in dede. for in all offenses they counte the intente & pretensed purpose as evel as the acte or dede it selfe, think- ing that no lette oughte to excuse him, that did his beste to have no lette.

The seconde booke of
Utopia
Motion to
advoutrye
punished

HEY have singular delite and pleasure in fooles. And as it is a gretere reproche to do to annye of them hurte or injury, so they prohibite not to take pleasure of foolyshnes. for that, they thinke, do themuche good to the fooles. And if any man be so sadde, and sterne, that he cannot laughe neither at their wordes, nor at their dedes, none of them be committed to his tuition: for feare least he would not intreate them gentilly and favorably enough: to whom they should brynge no delectation (for other goodnes in them is none) muche lesse anye proffite shoulde they yelde him.  To mocke a man for his deformitie, or for that he lacketh anye parte or lymme of his bodye, is counted greate dishonestye and reproche, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh; which unwysely doth imbrade anye man of that as a vice, that was not in his powre to eschewe.

ALSO, as they counte & reken verye little witte to be in him that regardeth not naturall bewtie and comelinessse; so to helpe the same with paynt-

inges, is taken for a vaine and a wanton pride, not withoute greate infamie. for they knowe even by very experience, that no comelinesse of bewtye doeth so hyghelye commende & avaunce the wifes in the conceite of their husbandes, as honest conditions and lowlines. for as love is oftentimes wonne with bewty, so it is not kept, preserved, and continued, but by vertue and obedience.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Counter-
feite bewtie

HEY do not onely feare their people from doyng evil by punishmentes, but also allure them to vertue with rewardes of honoure. Therfore they set up in the markette place the ymages of notable men, and of such as have bene great and bounteful benefactors to the comen wealth, for the perpetual memorie of their good actes: & also that the glory and renowme of the auncetors maye styrre & provoke their posteritie to vertue.

Sinne pun-
ished and
vertue re-
warded

HE that inordinatly and ambitious-
ly desireth promotions, is left
al hopeles for ever atteining any
promotion as long as he liveth. They lyve
together lovinglye. for no magistrate is

The inordi-
nate desire
of honours
condemned

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Magis-
trates hon-
oured

fewe lawes

The multi-
tude of law-
yers super-
fluous

eyther hawte or fearfull. fathers they be called, and lyke fathers they use themselves. The citezens, as it is their dewtie, willynglye exhibite unto them dew honour without any compulsion. Nor the prince himselfe is not knownen from the other by princely apparell, or a robe of state, nor by a crown or diademe roial, or cap of maintenaunce, but by a litle sheffe of corne caried before him. And so a taper of wax is borne before the bishop, wherby onely he is knownen.

HE Y have but few lawes; for to people so instructe and institute, very fewe do suffice. Yea, this thing they chiefelye reprove among other nations, that innumerable bokes of lawes and expositions upon the same be not sufficient. But they think it against all right and justice that men shoulde be bound to those lawes, which either be in number mo then be hable to be read, or els blinder & darker, then that anye man can well understande them. furthermore they utterlie exclude & banishe all attorneis, proctours, & sergeauntes at the lawe: whiche craftelye handell mat-

ters, and subtelly dispute of the lawes. The seconde booke of Utopia
¶ for they thinke it moste meete, that every man should pleade his own matter, & tel the same tale before the judge that he wold tell to his man of law. So shal there be lesse circumstaunce of wordes, and the trueth shall soner come to light, whiles the judge with a discrete judgement doeth waye the woordes of him, whom no lawyer hath instructe with deceit, and whiles he helpeth and bear-eth out simple wittes against the false and malicious circumventions of craftie children. This is harde to be observed in other countreis, in so infinite a number of blinde & intricate lawes. But in Utopia every man is a cunning lawier. for, as I said, they have very few lawes: and the plainer and grosser that anye interpretation is, that they allowe as most juste. for all lawes, saie they, be made and publyshed onely to the intente, that by them every man shoulde be put in remembraunce of his dewtie. But the craftye & subtill interpretation of them (forasmuche as few can atteyne thereto) canne put verye fewe in that remem-

The intent
of lawes

braunce, where as the simple, the plaine,
& grosse meaninge of the lawes is open
to everye man.



THESE as touchinge the vulgare
sort of the people, whiche be
bothe mooste in number, and
have moste nede to knowe their dewties,
were it not as good for them, that no
law were made at all, as when it is made,
to bringe so blynde an interpretation
upon it, that without greate witte and
longe arguyng no man can discussse it?
To the fyndynge oute whereof neyther
the grosse judgement of the people can
attaine, neyther the whole life of them
that be occupied in woorkinge for their
livynges, canne suffice thereto.

THESE vertues of the Utopians
have caused their nexteneghboures
and borderers whiche live fre and
under no subjection (for the Utopians
longe ago have delivered manye of them
from tirannie) to take magistrates of
them, some for a yeaire, & some for five
yeares space. Which when the tyme of
their office is expired, they bringe home
againe with honoure and praise, & take

new againe with them into their coun-
try. These nations have undoubtedlie
very well and holsomely provided for
their common wealthes  for seynge
that bothe the makinge and marringe of
the weale publique, doeth depende and
hange upon the maners of the rulers &
magistrates, what officers coulde they
more wyselye have chosen, then those
which can not be ledde frome honestye
by bribes (for to them that shortly after
shal depart thens into their own coun-
try, money should be unprofitable) nor
yet be moved eyther with favoure or
malice towardes any man, as beyng
straungers, and unaquainted with the
people? The whiche two vices of affec-
tion & avarice, where they take place in
judgementes, incontinente they breake
justice, the strongest & suerest bonde
of a common wealth  These peoples
whiche fetche their officers and rulers
from them, the Utopians cal their fel-
lowes. And other to whome they have
bene beneficall, they call their frendes.

AS touching leagues, which in o-
ther places betwene countrey &
countrey be so ofte concluded,

Of leagues

broken, & renewed, they never make none with anie nation. for to what purpose serve leagues, say they? As though the nature had not set sufficient love betwene man & man. And who so regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will passe for wordes? They be brought into this opinion chiefely, because that in those partes of the worlde, leagues betwene princes be wont to be kepte and observed very sklenderly,  for here in Europa, and especiallye in these partes where the faith and religion of Christe reigneth, the majestie of leagues is everye where esteemed holy and inviolable: partlie through the justice and goodnes of princes, and partly at the reverence and motion of the head Bishops. Which like as they make no promisse themselves but they do verye religiouselye perfourme the same, so they exhorte all princes in any wise to abide by their promisses, & them that refuse or denye so to do, by their pontificall powre and authoritie, they compell thereto,  And surely they thinke well that it might seme a verye reprochfull thing, yf in the leagues of

them which by a peculiare name be called
faithful, faith should have no place. But
in that newe founde parte of the world,
which is scasellie so farre frome us be-
yond the line equinoctiall, as our life and
maners be dissident from theirs, no trust
nor confidence is in leagues. But the mo-
& holier ceremonies the league is knitte
up with, the soner it is broken by some
cavillation founde in the wordes, which
many times of purpose be so craftelie
put in and placed, that the bandes can
never be so sure nor so stronge, but they
will find some hole open to crepe out
at, and to breake both league and treuth

¶ The whiche craftye dealing, yea the
whiche fraude & deceite, if they should
know it to be practised among private
men in their bargaines and contractes,
they would incontinent crie out at it
with an open mouth and a sower coun-
tenaunce, as an offense moste detest-
able, and worthye to be punnyshed with
a shamefull deathe: yea even very they
that avaunce themselves authours of
lyke counsell geven to princes. Wherfore
it may wel be thought, either that al jus-

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

tice is but a basse and a low vertue, and which availeth it self farre under the highe dignite of kynges: or at the least wise, that there be two justices, the one meete for the inferiour sorte of the people, goynge a fote and crepynge lowe by the grounde, and bounde down on every side with many bandes, bycause it shall not run at rovers. The other a princelye vertue, which like as it is of much hygher majestie then the other pore justice, so also it is of muche more libertie, as to the which nothing is unlawfull that it lusteth after.

HESE maners of princes, as I said, whiche be there so evell kepers of leagues, cause the Utopians, as I suppose, to make no leagues at al, which perchaunce would chaunge their minde if they lived here. Howbeit they thinke that thoughe leagues be never so faithfullye observed and kepte, yet the custome of makyng leagues was very evell begon. for this causeth men (as though nations which be seperat a sondre, by the space of a litle hil or a river, were coupled together

by no societie or bonde of nature) to The
thinke themselves borne adversaries & seconde
enemies one to an other, and that it were booke of
lawfull for the one to seke the death and
destruction of the other, if leagues were
not: yea, and that after the leagues be
accorded, frendship doth not grow and
encrese, but the license of robbing and
stealing doth styl remaine, as farfurth
as for lack of foresight and advisement
in writing the wordes of the league, any
sentence or clause to the contrarie is not
therin sufficientlie comprehended. But
they be of a contrarye opinion. That is,
that no man oughte to be counted an
enemye, whiche hath done no injurye.
And that the felowshippe of nature is
a stronge league: and that men be better
and more surely knit togethers by love
and benevolence, then by covenantes
of leagues: by hartie affection of minde,
then by wordes.



ARRE or battelas
athing very beast-
ly, and yet to no
kynge of beastes
in somuche use as
to man, they do de-
test and abhorre.
And contrarie to
the custome al-
mooste of all o-
ther nations, they counte nothyng so
muche against glorie, as glory gotten in
warre. And therefore though they do
daylie practise & exercise themselves in
the discipline of warre, and not onlie the
men, but also the women upon certen ap-
pointed daies, lest they shold be to seke
in the feate of armes, if nede shold re-
quire, yet they never go to battell, but
either in the defence of their owne coun-
try, or to drive out of their frendes lande
the enemies that have invaded it, or by
their power to deliver from the yocke &
bondage of tiranny some people that
be therewith oppresed. Which thing
they do of meere pitie and compassion

¶ Howbeit they sende helpe to their frendes, not ever in their defence, but sometymes also to requite and revenge injuries before to them done. But this they do not onlesse their counsell & advise in the matter be asked, whiles it is yet newe and freshe. for if they finde the cause probable, and if the contrarie part wil not restoore agayne suche thynges as be of them justelye demaunded, then they be the chiefe autours and makers of the warre. Whiche they do not onlie as ofte as by inrodes and invasions of soldiours praies & booties be driven awaye, but then also muchemore mortally, when their frendes marchautes in anie lande, either under the pretence of unjuste lawes, or elles by the wrestinge & wronge understandinge of good lawes, do sustaine an unjust accusation under the colour of justice.

NEITHER the battell whiche the Atopians fought for the Nephelogegetes against the Alaopolitanes a little before oure time, was made for any other cause, but that the Nephelogelete marchaunt men, as the Atopians

thought, suffred wrong of the Alaopolitanes, under the pretence of righte. But whether it were righte or wronge, it was with so cruel and mortal warre revenged, the countreis rounde about joyninge their helpe and powre to the puissaunce and malice of bothe parties, that moste flourishing and wealthy peoples, being some of them shrewedly shaken, and some of them sharply beaten, the mischeves wer not finished nor ended, until the Alaopolitanes, at the last were yelded up as bondemen into the jurisdiction of the Nephelogetes. for the Utopians fought not this war for themselves. And yet the Nephelogetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, wer nothing to be compared with them.

SO egerlye the Utopians prose-
quite the injuries done to their
frendes: yea, in money matters,
and not their owne likewise. for if they
by coveyne or gile be wiped beside their
goodes, so that no violence be done to
their bodies, they wreake their anger by
absteininge from occupieng with that

nation, until they have made satisfaction. Not for bicause they set lesse stoore by their owne citizeins, then by their frendes: but that they take the losse of their frendes money more hevelie then the losse of their own. Because that their frendes marchaunte men, forasmuche as that they leise is their own private goods, susteine great dammage by the losse. But their owne citizeyns leise nothing but of the commen goods, and of that whiche was at home plentifull and almost superfluous, els had it not bene sent furth. Therfore no man feleth the losse. And for this cause they thinke it to cruell an acte, to revenge that losse with the deathe of manie, the incommoditie of the which losse no man feeleth neither in his lyfe, nor yet in his living. But if it chaunce that any of their men in any other country be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a commen or a private counsel, knowyng & trying out the trueth of the matter by their ambassadours, onlesse the offenders be rendered unto them in recompence of the injurie, they will not be appeased: but inconti-

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

nent they proclaime warre against them. The offenders yelded, they punishe either with death or with bondage.

HEY be not only sory, but also ashamed to atchieve the victorie with bloudshed, counting it greate folie to bie precious wares to dere. They joyse & avaunt themselves, if they vanquishe & oppresse their enemies by craft and deceite. And for that act they make a generall triumph, and as yf the matter were manfullye handeled, they set up a pyller of stone in the place where they so vanquished their enemies, in token of the victorie. for then they glorie, then they boaste, and cracke that they have plaied the men in deede, when they have so overcommen, as no other living creature but onely man could: that is to saye, by the michte and puissaunce of wit, ~~for~~ with bodily strength, say they, beares, lions, boores, wulfes, dogges, and other wild beastes do fight. And as the moste part of them do passe us in strength & fierce courage, so in wit and reason we be much stronger then they all. Their chief and principall purpose in warre, is to obteine

that thynge, whiche if they had before obteined, they woulde not have moved battell. But if that be not possible, they take so cruell vengeaunce of them whiche be in the faulte, that ever after they be aferde to do the like.  This is their chiefe and principall intent, whiche they imme- diatlie and first of al prosequute and set forwarde. But yet so, that they be more circumspete, in avoidinge and eschew- yng jeopardy, then they be desierous of prayse and renowne. Therefore imme- diatlye after that warre is ones solemnes- lie denounced, they procure many procla- mations signed with their owne commen- seale to be set up privilie at one time in their enemies lande, in places moste fre- quented.  In these proclamations they promisse greate rewardes to hym that will kill their enemies prince, and some- what lesse giftes, but them verye greate also, for everye heade of them, whose names be in the saide proclamations con- teyned. They be those whom they count their chiefe adversaries, next unto the prince. Whatsoever is prescribed unto him that killeth any of the proclaimed

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

persons, that is dubled to him that bringeth anye of the same to them alive: yea, & to the proclaimed persones themselves, if they wil chaunge their mindes, & come into them, taking their partes, they profer the same greate rewardes, with pardone, & suertie of their lives. Therfore it quickly commeth to passe that their enemies have all other men in suspicion, and be unfaithfull, & mistrusting among themselves one to another, living in great feare, and in no lesse jeopardie, for it is well knownen, that divers times the most part of them (& speciallie the prince him selfe) hathe bene betraied of them in whom they put their moste hope & trust.

SO that there is no maner of act nor dede that giftes and rewardes do not enforce men unto. And in rewardes they kepe no measure. But remembryng & considering into how great hasarde and jeopardie they cal them, endevoure themselves to recompence the greatnes of the daunger with like great benefites. And therefore they promise not only wonderfule greate abundaunce of golde, but also landes of great revenues

lieng in most saffe places among theire frendes. And theire promises they per-
fourme faythfully withoute annye fraude or covyne. The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

HIS custome of byinge and sel-lynge adversaryes among other people is dysallowed, as a cruel acte of a basse and a cowardyshe mynde. But they in this behalfe thinke themselfes muche prayse woorthy, as who lyke wyse men by this meanes dispatche greate warres withoute anny battell or skyrmyshe. Yea they counte it also a dede of pytye and mercye, bicause that by the deathe of a fewe offenders the lyves of a greate numbre of innocentes, aswel of theire ounem en as also of theire enemies, be raunsomed and saved, which in fighting shoulde have bene sleane. for they
doo no lesse pytye the basse and com-
mon sorte of theire enemies people, then
they doo theire owne: knowing that they
be driven and enforced to warre against
their willes by the furyous madnes of
theire princes and heades.

Fbynone of these meanes the mater goo forwarde, as they woulde have it, then they procure occasy-

ons of debate, & dissention to be spredde amonge theire enemies: as by bringinge the princes brother, or some of thenoble men in hoope to obtayne the kingedome. Yf this waye prevaylenot, then they reyse up the people that be nexten eygheboures and borderers to theire enemyes, & them they sette in theire neckes under the coloure of some olde tytle of ryghte, such as kynges doo never lacke. To them they promysse theire helpe and ayde in theire warre. And as for moneye they gyve them abundaunce. But of theire owne cytyzeins they sende to them fewe or none, whome they make so much of, and love so intierlye, that they would not be willing to chaunge anye of them for their adversaries prince.

BUT their gold and silver, bycause they kepe it all for thys only purpose, they laye it owte frankly and frely: as who shoulde lyve even as wealthely, if they hadde bestowed it everye pennye. Yea & besydes theire ryches, whyche they kepe at home, thei have also an infinite treasure abrode, by reason that (as I sayde before) manye nations be in their

debte. Therefore they hiere soldiours
oute of all countreis and sende them to
battayle, but cheifly of the Zapoletes.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

HIS people is 500 myles from Utopia eastewarde. They be hideous, savage, & fyerce, dwellynge in wild woodes & high mountaines, where they were bredde and brought up. They be of an harde nature, hable to abide and sustaine heate, colde, & labour, abhorrynge from all delicate deintyes, occupyenge no husbandrye nor tyllage of the ground, homelye & rude both in buildinge of their houses and in their apparrel, geven unto no goodnes, but onely to the breedinge and bringynge up of cattel. The mooste parte of theire lyvinge is by huntynge & stealynge. They be borne onelye to warre, whyche they diligentlye and earnestelye seke for. And when they have gotten it, they be wonders glad thereof. They goo furthe of theire countreye in greate companyes together, & who soever lackethe souldyours, there they proffer theire ser-
vice for small wages. This is onelye the crafte that they have to gette theire liv-
yng by. They maynteyne theire lyfe, by

sekinge theire deathe. for them whome-
wyth they be in wayges they fyghte hard-
elye, fyerslye, & faythefullye. But they
bynde themselves for no certeyne tyme.
But upon this condition they entre into
bondes, that the nexte daye they wyll take
parte with the other syde for greater
wayges, & the nexte daye after that, they
wyll be readye to come backe agayne for a
lytle more moneye. There be fewe warres
thereawaye, wherin is not a greate num-
bre of them in bothe partyes.

HEREFORE it dayelye chaunc-
eth the that nye kynsefolke whyche
were hiered together on one parte,
and there verye frendelye and familiar-
lye used themselves one wyth another,
shortely after beinge separate in con-
trarye partes, runne one againste another
envyouslylye and fyercelye: and forget-
tinge bothe kindred and frendeshyppe,
thruste theire swordes one in another.
And that for none other cause, but that
they be hyered of contrarye prynces for a
lytle moneye. Whyche they doo so hygh-
lye regarde & esteame, that they wille eas-
lye be provoked to chaunge partes for a

halfe penye more wayges by the daye. So The
quycckelye they have taken a smacke in seconde
covetesenes. Whyche for all that is to booke of
them no proffyte. for that they gette by
fyghtynge, immedyatelye they spende
unthryftelye & wretchedlye in ryotte. This
people fighteth for the Utopians
agaynst all nations, bycause they geve
them greater wayges, then annye oth-
er nation wyll. for the Utopians lyke as
they seke good men to use wel, so they
seke these evell and vicious men to a-
buse. Whome, when neade requirethe,
with promisses of greate rewardes they
putte forthe into great jeopardyes. from
whens the mooste parte of them never
cummeth againe to aske their rewardes.
But to them that remaine alive they paye
that which they promissted faithfully,
that they maye be the more willinge to
put themselves in like daunger another
time. Nor the Utopians passe not how
many of them they bring to destruction.
for they beleve that they should doo a
verye good deade for all mankind, if they
could ridde out of the worlde all that
fowle stinking denne of that most wick-
ed and cursed people.

NEXT unto thies they use the soldiours of them for whom they fighte. And then the helpe of their other frendes. And laste of all, they joyne to theire oune citizens. Emong whome they give to one of tried vertue and prowes the reule, goouernaunce, & conduction of the whole armye. Under him they appoynte ij. other, whyche, whyles he is sauffe, be bothe private and oute of offyce. But yf he be taken or slayne, the one of the other ij. succeedeth hym, as it were by inherytaunce. And if the seconde miscarrye, then the thirde taketh his rowme, leaste that (as the chaunce of battell is uncer-
teine & doubtful) the jeopardy or deathe of the capitaine shoulde brynge the whole armye in hasarde. They chuese soldiours out of every citye, those whych putte furthe themselfes wyllyngelye for they thruste no man forthe into warre a-
gaynste his wyll. Bycause they beleve, yf anyeman be fearefull & fainte harted of nature, he wyll not onelye doo no manfull and hardy acte hym selfe, but also be occasyon of cowardenes to his fellowes.

BUT if annye battell be made a-
gaynste theire owne countreye,
then they putt these cowardes (so
that they be stronge bodyed) in shyppes
amonge other bolde hartedmen. Or elles
they dyspose them upon the walles, from
whens they maye not flye. Thus, what for
shame that theire enemies be at hande,
& what for bycause they be without hope
of runninge awaye, they forgette all feere.
And manye times extreame necessitye
turnethe cowardnes into prowes & man-
lynes.

BUT as none of them is thrust forthe
of his countrey into warre againste
his wyll, so women that be wyllynge
to accompany theire husbandes in times
of warre be not prohibited or letted. Yea
they provoke and exhorte them to it with
prayses. And in set fylde the wyves doo
stande everye one by theire owne hus-
bandes syde. Also every man is compas-
sed next aboute with his owne children,
kinsfolkes, & aliaunce. That they, whom
nature chieflye moveth to mutual suc-
coure, thus standynge together, maye
healpe one another. It is a great reproche,

and dishonesty for the husband to come home without his wiffe, or the wyffe without her husbande, or the sonne without his father. And therfore if the other part sticke so harde by it, that the battel come to their handes, it is fought with great slaughter & blodshed, even to the utter destruction of both partes. for as they make all the meanes & shyftes that maye be to kepe themselves from the necessite of fyghtinge, or that they may dispatche the battell by their hiered soldyours: so when there is no remedy, but that they muste neades fight themselves, then they do as corragiouslye fall to it as before, whyles they myght, they did wyselye avoyde & refuse it. Nor they be not most fierce at the first bront. But in continuaunce by litle & lytle theire fierce courage encreaseth, with sostubborne & obstynate myndes, that they wyll rather dye then gyve back an ynche.

HOR that suertye of lyvinge, whiche everye man hath at home, beinge joyned with noo carefull anxietye or remembraunce how theire posteritie shall lyve after them (for this pensifnes

oftentymes breakethe & abateth coura-
gious stomakes) maketh them stowte
and hardye, and disdaineful to be con-
quered. Moreover theire knowledge in
chevalrye and feates of armes putteth
them in a good hope.

EINALL Y the wholesome and ver-
tuous opinions, wherin they were
brought up even from theire child-
hode, partly through learnynge, and
partelye throughe the good ordinaunces
and lawes of theire weale publique, aug-
mente and encrease theire manfull cour-
age. By reason whereof, they neither set
so little store by their lives that they will
rasshelye and unadvisedlye caste them
away: nor they be not so farre in lewde &
fond love therewith, that they will shame-
fullye covete to kepe them, when honestie
biddeth leave them.

CHEN the battel is hottest and
in al places most fierce and fer-
vent, a bende of chosen & picked
yong men, whiche be sworne to live & dye
togethers, take upon them to destroye
theire adversaries capitaine. Whome they
invade, now with privy wieles, now by

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The capit-
ane is chiefe-
lye to be
pursued to
thintente
the battell
maye the
soner be
ended

open strength. At him they strike both
nere and farre of. He is assayled with a
long and a continuall assaulte, freshe
men stylly commynge in the weried mens
places. And seldome it chaunceth (onles
he save hymselfe by flying) that he is not
either slayne, or els taken prisoner, and
yelded to his enemies alive.

If they wynne the fyelde, they per-
secute not theire enemies with the
violent rage of slaughter, for they
had rather take them alive, then kyl them.
Neither they do so follow the chase and
pursute of theire enemies, but they leave
behinde them one parte of theire hoste in
battaile arraye under their standarde.
In so muche that if al their whole armie
be discumfeted and overcum, saving the
rerewarde, and that they therewith at-
chieve the victory, then they had rather
lette al their enemies scape, then to fol-
lowe them out of array. for they remem-
bre, it hath chaunced unto themselfes
more then ones: the whole powre and
strength of their hoste being vanquish-
ed and put to flight, whiles their enemies
rejoysing in the victory have persecuted

them flying some one way and some another, a smalle compayne of theire men lying in an ambushe, there redy at all occasions, have sodainely rysen upon them thus dispersed and scattered oute of arraye, and through presumption of safety unadvisedly pursuing the chase: & have incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battayll: and spite of their tethes, wrestinge oute of their handes the sure and undoubted victorye, being a litle before conquered, have for their parte conquered the conquerers.

Tis hard to say whether they be craftier in layinge an ambushe, or wittier in avoydinge the same. You would thinke they intende to flye, when they meane nothing lesse. And contrarye wyse, when they go about that purpose, you wold beleve it were the leaste parte of their thought. for if they perceave themselfes either overmatched in numbre, or closed in too narrowe a place, then they remove their campe either in the night season with silence, or by some pollicie they deceave theire enemies, or in the day time they retiere backe so softelye, that it

is no lesse jeopardie to medle with them when they geve backe, then when they preese on. They fence and fortifie their campe sewerlye with a deape and a brode trenche. The earth therof is cast inward. Nor they do not set drudgeis & slaves a worke about it. It is doone by the handes of the souldiours them selfes. All the whole armye worketh upon it: excepte them that kepe watche and warde in harnes before the trenche for sodeine aventures. Therefore, by the labour of so manye, a large trenche closinge in a greate compasse of grounde, is made in lesse tyme then anye man woulde beleve.

Their
armour

HEIR Earmour or harnes, whiche they weare, is sure and strong to receave strokes, and handsome for all movinges and gestures of the bodye, insomuche that it is not unweldye to swymme in. For in the discipline of theire warefare, amonge other feates thei learne to swimme in harnes. Their weapons be arrowes aloufe: whyche they shote both strongely and surely, not onelye fotemen, but also horsemen. At hande strokes they use not swordes but pollaxes, whiche be mortall, as wel in sharpe-

nes, as in weyghte, bothe for foynes and downestrokes. Engines forwarre they devyse & invent wonders wittelye. Whiche when they be made, they kepe verye secrete, leaste yf they shoulde be knownen before neaderequyre, they should be but laughed at & serve to no purpose. But in makyng them, hereunto they have chiefe respecte, that they be both easy to be caried, and handsome to be moved and turned about.

GRACE taken with their enemies for a shorte time they do so firme-
lye and faythfullye keape, that they wyll not breake it: no not though they be thereunto provoked.

GHEY doe not waste nor destroy theire enemies lande with forrag-
inges, nor they burne not up theire corne. Yea, they save it as muche as may be from being overrunne & troden downe either with men or horses, thinkinge that it growethe for theire owne use and profit. They hurt no man that is unarmed, onles he be an espiall. All cities that be yelded unto them, they defende. And suche as they wynne by force of assaulte,

The seconde booke of Utopia

Of truces

they neither dispoyle nor sacke, but them that withstode and dyssuaded the yeldynge up of the same, they put to deathe, the othersouldours they punnyshe with bondage. All the weake multitude they leave untouched. If they knowe that anye cytezeins counselled to yealde and rendre up the citie, to them they gyve parte of the condemned mens goods. The resydewe they distribute and give frelye amonge them whose helpe they had in the same warre. for none of them selfes taketh anye portion of the praye. But when the battaile is finished&ended, they put theire frendes to never a penny coste of al the charges that they were at, but laye it upon theire neckes that be conquered. Them they burdeine with the whole charge of theire expenseis, whiche they demaunde of them partelye in monie to be kept for like use of battayll, & partelye in landes of greate revenues to be payde unto them yearelye for ever. Suche revenues they have now in manye countreis. Whiche by little & little rysinge of dyvers and sondry causes be increased above viij. hundrethe thousand ducates by the yere.

HE^ETER they sende forth some of their citezeins as lieuetenautes, to live there sumptuously like men of honoure & renowne. And yet this notwithstandinge muche moneye is saved, which commeth to the commen treasury: onles it so chaunce, that they had rather trust the countrey with themoney. Which many times they do so long until they have neede to occupie it. And it seldom happeneth that theidemaund al. Of these landes they assigne part unto them, which at their request and exhortacion put themselves in such jeoperdies as I spake of before. If anye prince stirre up warre agaynst them, intending to invade theire lande, they mete hym incontinent oute of theire owne borders with greate powre & strengthe. for they never lyghte, ly make warre in their owne countrey. Nor they be never brought into so extreme necessitie as to take helpe out of forreyne landes into their owne Ilande.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia



HERE be divers kindes of religion not only in sondrie partes of the Ilande, but also in divers places of every citie. Some worship for God the sonne: some, the mone: some, some other of the planettes. There be that give worship to a man that was ones of excellente vertue or of famous glory, not only as God, but also as the chiefest and hyghest God. But the moste & the wysest parte(rejectyng al these) beleve, that there is a certayne godlie powre unknownen, everlastinge, incomprehensible, inexplicable, farre above the capacite and retche of mans witte, dispersed throughoute all the worlde, not in bignes, but in vertue and power. Him they call the father of al. To him alone they attribute the beginninges, the encreasinges, the procedinges, the chaunges, and the endes of all thinges. Neither they

geve any divine honours to any other
then to him. Yea al the other also, though
they be in divers opinions, yet in this
pointe they agree all together with the
wisest sorte, in beleving that there is
one chiefe and principall God, the maker
and ruler of the whole worlde: whome
they all commonlye in their countrey
language call Mythra.  But in this they
disagree, that among some he is count-
ed one, and amonge some an other  for every one of them, whatsoever that
is whiche he taketh for the chief god,
thinketh it to be the very same nature,
to whose only divine mighte & majestie,
the summe and soveraintie of al thinges
by the consent of al people is attributed
and geven.

HOWBEIT they all begyn, by litle
and litle, to forsake and fall from
this varietie of superstitions, &
to agre together in that religion whiche
semethe by reason to passe & excell the
residewe.  And it is not to be doubted,
but all the other would long agoo have
bene abolished, but that whatsoever un-
prosperous thynges happened to anie of

them, as he was mynded to chaunge his religion, the fearefulnesse of people did take it, not as a thinge comminge by chaunce, but as sente from God out of heaven. As though the God, whose honoure he was forsakynge, woulde revenge that wicked purpose against him.

BUT after they hearde us speake of the name of Christe, of his doctrine, lawes, myracles, and of the no lesse wonderful constancie of so manye martyrs, whose bloude wyllynglye shedde broughte a great numbre of nations throughoute all partes of the worlde into their sect: you will not beleve with howe gladde mindes they agreed unto the same: whether it were by the secrete inspiration of God, or elles for that they thought it nieghest unto that opinion which among them is counted the chiefest. Howbeit I thinke this was no smale helpe & furtheraunce in the matter, that they harde us say, that Christe instituted among his, al thinges commen: & that the same communitie doth yet remaine amongst the rightest Christian companies.

VERELY howsoever, it came to
passe many of them consented
togethers in our religion, & were
wasshed in the holy water of baptisme

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

No But because among us foure (for no
mo of us was left a live, two of our com-
panye beyng dead) there was no priest,
which I am right sorie for: they beyng
entered & instructed in al other pointes
of our religion, lacke onely those sacra-
mentes, whiche here none but priestes
do minister. **H**owbeit they understand
and perceive them, and be very desierous
of the same. Yea, they reason and dis-
pute the matter earnestly among them-
selves, whether without the sending of
a christian bishop, one chosen out of
their own people may receave the ordre
of priesthod. **A**nd truely they were
minded to chuese one. But at my depar-
ture from them they had chosen none.

GHE Y also which do not agree to
Christes religion, feare no man
from it, nor speake against any
man that hath received it. **S**aving that
one of our company in my presence was
sharply punished. He, as soone as he

was baptised, began against our willes, with more earneste affection then wisdom, to reason of Christes religion: & began to waxe so hote in his matter, that he did not onlye preferre our religion before al other, but also did utterly despise and condempne all other, calling them prophane, & the folowers of them wicked and develish, and the children of everlastinge dampnation. When he had thus longe reasoned the matter, they laid holde on him, accused him, and condempned him into exile, not as a despiser of religion, but as a sedicious person, & a raiser up of dissention amonge the people. for this is one of the auncientest lawes amonge them: that no man shall be blamed for resoninge in the maintenaunce of his owne religion.

OR kyng Utopus, even at the firste beginning, hearing that the inhabitauntes of the land wer before his coming thether, at continuall dissention & strife amonge themselves for their religions: perceyving also that this common dissention (whiles every severall secte tooke several partes in

fighting for their countrey) was the only occasion of his conquest over them al, assone as he had gotten the victory: firste of all he made a decree, that it should be lawfull for everie man to fauour and folow what religion he would, and that he mighte do the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceablie, gentelie, quietly, and soberlie, without hastie and contentious rebuking & inveching against other. If he could not by faire and gentle speche induce them unto his opinion yet he should use no kinde of violence, and refraine from displeasaunte and seditious woordes. To him that would vehemently and ferventlye in this cause strive and contend, was decreed banishment or bondage.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Seditious
reasoners
punished

HIS lawe did kynge Utopus make not only for the maintenaunce of peace, which he saw through continuall contention and mortal hatred utterly extinguished: but also because he thought this decrie should make for the furtheraunce of religion. Wherof he durst define and determine nothing un-

advisedlie, as douting whether god, desiering manifolde and diverse sortes of honour, would inspire sondry men with sondrie kindes of religion. And this suerly he thought a very unmete and folish thing, & a point of arrogant presumption, to compell all other by violence and threateninges to agre to the same that thou belevest to be trew. furthermore thoughe there be one religion, whiche alone is trew, and al other vaine and superstitious, yet did he wel foresee (so that the matter were handeled with reason, & sober modestie) that the trueth of the own powre would at the last issue out and come to lyghte. But if contention and debate in that behalfe should continuallye be used, as the woorste men be mooste obstinate and stubbourne, & in their evyll opinion mooste constante: he perceaved that then the beste & holiest religion woulde be troden underfote and destroyed by most vaine supersticions, even as good corne is by thornes and weedes overgrowen and chooked. Therfore all this matter he lefte undiscussed and gave to

everye man free libertie and choise to
believe what he woulde. Savinge that he
earnestelye and straitelye charged them,
that no man shoulde conceave so vyle and
baase an opinion of the dignitie of mans
nature, as to think that the soules do
die and perishe with the bodye: or that
the world runneth at al aventures, gov-
erned by no divine providence.

The
seconde
booke of
Atopia

Novile opin-
ion to be
conceaved
of mans
worthy na-
ture

AND therfore thei beleve that af-
ter this life vices be extreamelye
punished & vertues bountifulllye
rewarded. Hym that is of a contrary opin-
ion they countenot in the numbre of men,
as one that hathe avaled the heighe na-
ture of hys soule to the vielnes of brute
beastes bodies: muche lesse in the num-
bre of their citizeins, whose lawes and or-
denaunces, if it were not for feare, he wold
nothing at al esteme. **¶** for you maye be
suer that he will studie either with craft
privilye to mocke, or els violently to breake
the commen lawes of his countrey, in
whom remaineth no further feare then
of the lawes, nor no further hope then of
the bodye. **¶** Wherfore he that is thus
minded is deprived of all honours, ex-

Irreligious
people se-
cluded from
all honours

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

A very
straung
sayinge

Deceit and
falshod
detested

cluded from all offices, and rejecte from all common administrations in the weale publique. And thus he is of all sortes despised, as of an unprofitable, & of a base & vile nature. Howbeit they put him to no punishment, because they be persuad-ed, that it is in no mans power to beleve what he list. No, nor they constraine hym not with threateninges to dissemble his minde, and shew countenaunce contrarie to his thought. for deceit and falshod & all maners of lies, as next unto fraude, they do meruelouslie deteste & abhorre. But they suffer him not to dispute in his opinion, & that onelye amonge the com-men people. for els aparte amonge the priestes and men of gravitie, they do not onelye suffer, but also exhorte him to dis-pute and argue: hoping that at the last, that madnes will geve place to reason.

HERE be also other, and of them no small numbre, which be not for-bidden to speake theyr mindes, as grounding their opinion upon some rea-son, beyng in their living neither evell nor vicious. Their heresie is much contrarie to the other. for they beleve that the soules

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

A marvelous
straunge
opinion
touching
the soules
of brute
beastes

To die un-
willynglyan
evel token

of brute beastes be immortall & everlast-
ing. But nothyng to be compared with
oures in dignitie, neitherordeined & pre-
destinate to like felicitie. For al they be-
leve certeinly & sewerly that mans blesse
shal be so great, that they do mourne &
lament every mans sicknes, but no mans
death, oneles it be one whome they see
depart from his life carefullie, & agaynst
his will. For this they take for a verye evel
token, as though the soule beyng in di-
spaire, and vexed in conscience, through
some privie and secret forefeiling of the
punishment nowathande, were aferde to
depart. And they thinke he shall not be
welcome to God, which when he is called,
runneth not to him gladye, but is draw-
en by force & sore against his will. They
therfore that see this kinde of deathe, do
abhorre it, & them that so die, they burie
with sorow and silence. And when they
have praied God to be mercifull to the
soule, and mercifully to pardon the infir-
mities therof, they cover the dead coarse
with earth. Contrariewise all that departe
merely and ful of good hope, for them no
man mourneth, but followeth the heerse

A willing
and a merye
deathe not
to be lamen-
ted

with joyfull synging, commanding the soules to God with great affection. And at the last, not with mourning sorrow, but with a great reverence, they bourne the bodies. And in the same place they sette up a piller of stone, with the dead mans titles therin graved. When they be come home they reherse his vertuous maners and his good dedes. But no part of his life is so oft or gladly talked of, as his meri deth. They thinke that this remembraunce of the vertue and goodnes of the dead, doeth vehemently provoke & enforce the living to vertue. And that nothing can be more pleasaunt & acceptable to the deade; whom they suppose to be present among them, when they talke of them, though to the dull & feble eiesight of mortall men they be invisible.

HOR it were an unconvenient thinge, that the blessed shoulde not be at libertie to goo whether they woulde. And it were a pointe of greate unkindnes in them to have utterly cast awaye the desire of visitinge & seing their frendes, to whome they were in their life time joyned by mutuall love and amitie.

Whiche in good men, after their deathe,
they counte to be rather increased then
diminished.

HEY beleve therefore that the deade
be presentlye conversaunt amonge
the quicke, as beholders and wit-
nesses of all their wordes & deedes. Ther-
fore they go more corragiously to their
busines as having a trust and affiaunce in
such overseers. And this same belefe of
the present conversation of their fore-
fathers & auncetours among them, fear-
eth them from all secrete dishonestie.

GHEY utterly despise and mocke Sothsayers
not regard-
ed or credit-
ed
sothsayinges and divinations of
thinges to come by the flighte or
voices of birdes, and all other divina-
tions of vaine superstition, whiche in oth-
er countreis be in greate observation. But Miracles
they highlye esteme and worshyppe mir-
acles that come by no healpe of nature,
as woorkes & witnesses of the presente
power of God. And suche they saye do
chaunce there verye often. And some-
times in great and doubtefull matters,
by commen intercession & prayers, they
procure & obteine them with a sure hope
and confidence, and a stedfast belefe.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The life con-
templative

The life
active

HEY thinke that the contemplation of nature, and the prayse thereof comminge, is to God a very acceptable honoure. Yet there be many so earnestlye bent and affectioned to religion, that they passe no thing for lerning, nor geve their mindes to any knowledge of thinges. But ydernes they utterly for-sake and eschue, thinking felicitie after this life to be gotten & obteined by busie labors & good exercises. Some therfore of them attende upon the sick, some amende high waies, clense ditches, repaire bridges, digge turfes, gravell, & stones, fel & cleave wood, bring wood, corne and other thinges into the cities in cartes, & servenot onelye in commenwoorkes, but also in private laboures as servauntes, yea, more then bondmen  for what so ever unpleasaunt, harde, and vile worke is anye where, from the whiche labour, lothsomnes, and desperation doth fray other, al that they take upon them willingly & gladly, procuring quiete & rest to other, remaininge in continual woorke & labour themselves, not embraidinge others therewith. They neither reprove other mens lives, nor glorie in theire owne.

GHESE men, the more serviceable they behave themselves, the more they be honoured of all men. Yet they be divided into two sectes. The one is of them that live single and chast, abstaining not onely from the companie of women, but also from eating of fleshe, & some of them from all maner of beastes. Whiche, utterly rejecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtfull, be all wholye set upon the desier of the lyfe to come, by watchynge, and sweatynge, hoopinge shortly to obtaine it, being in the meane season merie & lustie. The other secte is no lesse desirous of laboure, but they embrace matrimonye, not despisyng the solace therof, thinking that they can not be discharged of their bounden dutiess towardes nature, without labour and toyle, nor towardes their native countrey without procreation of children. They abstaine from no pleasure that doeth nothinge hinder them from laboure. They love the flesh of foure footed beastes, bicause they beleve that by that meate they be made hardier and stronger to woorke.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

HE Utopians counte this secte the wiser, but the other the holier. Which in that they preferre single life before matrimony, and that sharp life before an easier life, if herein they grounded upon reason they would mock them. But now forasmuch as they say they be led to it by religion, they honor and worship them. And these be they whom in their language by a peculiar name, they cal Buthrescas, the which woord by interpretation signifieth to us, men of religion or religious men.

HEY have priestes of exceeding holines, and therefore very few. for there be but xij. in every citie, accordinge to the number of their churches, savyng when they go furthe to battell. for than viij. of them goo furth with the armie: in whose steades so manie newe be made at home. But the other at their retourne home again reentre every one into his owne place, they that be above the numbre (untill suche time as they succee into the places of the other at their dyinge) be in the meane season continuallie in companie with the bishoppe. for

he is the chiefe head of them al. They be chosen of the people, as the other magistrates be, by secrete voices, for the avoydinge of strife. After their election they be consecrate of their own companie. They be overseers of al divine matters, orderers of religions, and as it wer judges and maisters of maners. And it is a great dishonestie and shame to be rebuked or spoken to by any of them for dissolute and incontinent living.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

BUT as it is their office to geve good exhortations and counsel, so is it the dutie of the prince and the other magistrates to correct & punishe offenders, saving that the priestes, whome they find exceeding vicious livers, them they excommunicate from having anye interest in divine matters. And there is almoste no punishment amonge them more feared. for they runne in verye great infamie, and be inwardly tormented with a secret feare of religion, and shall not long scape free with their bodies. for unlesse they by quicke repentaunce approve the amendment of their lives to the priestes, they be taken and punished of the counsel, as wicked and irreligious.

Excommu/
nication

BOTH childhode and youth is instructed & taught of them. Nor they be not more diligente to instructe them in learning, then in vertue and good maners. for they use with verie great endeavour and diligence to put into the heades of their children, whiles they be yet tender and pliaunte, good opinions and profitable for the conservation of their weale publique. Which when they be once rooted in children, do remayne with them all their life after, & be wonders profitable for the defence and maintenauce of the state of the commenwelth. Whichenever decaieth but through the vices risinge of evill opinions.

GHE priestes, onles they be women (for that kinde is not excluded from priesthode, howbeit fewe be chosen, and none but widdowes and old women) the men priestes, I saye, take to their wifes the chiefest women in all their countreye. for to no office among the Atopians is more honour and preeminence geven. In so much that if they commit any offence, they be under no commen judgement, but be left only to God and

themselfes. for thei thinke it not lawful to touch him with mannes hande, be he never so vitiuous, whiche after so singular a sort was dedicate & consecrate to god as a holly offering. This maner may they easelye observe, bicause they have so fewe priestes, and do chuse them with such circumspection. for it scasely ever chaunceth, that the moste vertuous amonge vertuous, which in respect only of his vertue is avaunced to so high a dignety, can fal to vice and wickednes. And if it should chaunce in dede (as mans nature is mutable and fraile) yet by reason they be so fewe, & promoted to no might nor powre, but only to honoure, it were not to be feared that anye great damage by them should happen and ensue to the commen wealth.

HEY have so rare & fewe priestes, least if the honour were communicated to many, the digniti of the ordre, which among them now is so highly esteemed, should runne in contempt. Speciallye bicause they thincke it hard to find many so good, as to be meet for that dignety, to the execution and discharge

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

whereof it is not sufficiente to be endued with meane vertues. Furthermore these priestes be not more esteemed of their owne countrey men, then they be of for-rein & straunge countreis. Which thinge maye hereby plainly appere. And I thinke also that this is the cause of it, for whiles the armies be fighting together in open feld, they, a little beside, not farre of, knele upon their knees in their hallowed vestimentes, holding up their handes to heauen: praing first of all for peace, nexte for vyctory of their owne parte, but to neyther part a bluddy victory. If their host gette the upper hand, they runne in to the mayne battayle, & restrayne their owne men from sleying & cruelly pursu-
ing theire vanquished enemies. Whyche enemyes, yf they doo but see them and speake to them, it is ynoughe for the savegarde of theire lyves. And the touch-
ing of theire clothes defendeth & saveth al their gooddes from ravine and spoyle. This thinge hathe avaunced them to so greate wourship & trewe majesty among al nations, that manye times they have as wel preserved theire own citizens from

the cruel force of their enemies, as they
have theire enemies from the furyous
rage of theire owne men. for it is well
knowen, that when theire owne army hathe
reculed, & in dyspayre turned backe and
runne away, their ennemis fyerslye pur-
suing with slaughter & spoyle, then the
priestes cumming betwene have stayed
the murder, & parted bothe the hostes.
So that peace hath bene made & conclud-
ed betwene bothe partes upon equall and
indifferent conditions. for there was ne-
ver any nation, so fierce, so cruell, and
rude, but they hadde them in such rever-
ence, that they counted their bodyes hal-
lowed and sanctified, and therefore not
to be violentlye & uneverentlye touched.

HEY kepe hollye the firste & the
laste daye of everye moneth and
yeare, divydinge the yeare into
monethes, whyche they measure by the
course of the moone, as they doo the
yeare by the course of the sonne. The
fyrste dayes they call in theire language
Cynemernes, & the laste Trapemernes,
the whyche woordes may be interpreted,
primifeste & finifest, oreles in ourspeache,

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The obser-
vacion of
holy daies
amonge the
Utopians

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Their
churcheis

Churcheis
of dimme
light and a
reason why

first feaste & last feast. Their churches be verye gorgious, & not onelye of fine & curious workmanship, but also (which in the fewenes of them was necessary) very wide and large, and hable to receave a great company of people. But they be al sumwhat darke. Howbeit that was not donne through ignoraunce in buildinge, but as they say, by the counsel of the priestes. Because they thought that over much light doth disperse mens cogitations, whereas in dimme and doubtful lighte they be gathered together, & more earnestly fixed upon religion and devotion: which because it is not there of one sort among all men, & yet all the kindes and fassions of it, thoughe they be sondry and manifold, agre together in the honour of the divine nature, as goyng divers wayes to one ende: therefore nothing is sene nor heard in the churches, but that semeth to agre indefferently with them all. If there be a distinct kind of sacrifice peculiar to anye several secte, that they execute at home in their owne houses. The common sacrifices be so ordered, that they be no derogation nor

prejudice to anye of the private sacrifices
& religions. Therefore no ymage of an-
nye god is seene in the churche, to the in-
tente it maye bee free for every man to
conceive God by their religion after what
likenes & similitude they will. They call
upon no peculiar name of God, but only
Mithra, in the which word they all agree
together in one nature of the divine ma-
jesti, whatsoever it be. No prayers bee
used but suche as everyeman maye bolde-
lie pronounce withoute the offendinge
of anny secte.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

HEY come therfore to the churche
the laste day of everye moneth &
yeare in the evenyng yet fastinge,
there to gyve thankes to God for that
they have prosperouslye passed over the
yeare or monethe, wheroft that hollye daye
is the laste daye. Thenexte daye they come
to the church earlye in the mornyng, to
praye to God that they maye have good
fortune and successe all the newe yeare
or monethe whych they doo begynne of
that same hollye daye.

BUT in the holly dayes that be the
laste dayes of the monethes and
yeares, before they come to the

The confes-
sion of the
Utopians

churche, the wifes fall downe prostrat before theire husbandes feet at home, & the children before the feete of their parentes, confessinge and acknowledginge themselves offenders, either by some actuall dede, or by omission of their deuty, and desire pardon for their offense. Thus yf anye cloude of privy displeasure was risen at home, by this satisfaction it is overblowen, that they may be presente at the sacrifices with pure and charitable mindes. For they be aferd to come there with troubled consciences. Therefore if they knowe themselves to beare anye hatred or grudge towardes anye man, they presume not to come to the sacrifices, before they have reconciled themselves and purged theire consciences, for feare of greate vengeance & punyshemente for their offense.

An order for
places in the
Churche

WHEN they come thether, the men goo into the ryghte syde of the churche, & the women into the lefte syde. There they place themselves in suche ordre, that all they whyche be of the male kinde in every houshold sitte before the goodman of the house,

and they of the female kinde before the
goodwyfe. Thus it is forseen that all
their gestures & behaviours be marked
and observed abrode of them by whose
authority and discipline they be govern-
ed at home. This also they diligently
see unto, that the younger evermore be
coupled with his elder, lest children be-
inge joyned together, they should passe
over that time in childish wantonnes,
wherein they ought principally to con-
ceave a religious and devoute feare to-
wardes God: which is the chieffe and al-
most the only incitation to vertu.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

HE Y kill no living beast in sacrifice,
nor they thinke not that the merci-
ful clemencye of God hath delite in
bloude and slaughter, which hath geven
liffe to beastes to the intent they should
live. They burne franckensence, and o-
ther sweet savours, & light also a greate
numbre of waxe candelles & tapers, not
supposinge this geare to be any thing
avaylable to the divine nature, as neither
the prayers of men. But this unhurtful
and hameles kind of worship pleaseth
them. And by thies sweet savoures and

Ceremonies

lightes, and other such ceremonies men
feele themselves secretlye lifted up and
encouraged to devotion with more wil-
lynge and fervent hartes.

HE people wearethe in the churche
white apparell. The priest is cloth-
ed in chaungeable colours. Whiche
in workemanshipe bee excellent, but in
stuffe not verye pretious. For theire ves-
timentes be neither embraudered with
gold, nor set with precious stones. But
they be wrought so fynely & conninge-
lye with divers fethers of foules, that
the estimation of no costely stiffe is
hable to countervaile the price of the
worke ~~is~~ furthermore in these birdes
fethers, and in the dewe ordre of them,
whiche is observed in theire setting, they
saye is conteyned certaine divine mis-
teries. The interpretation wherof know-
en, whiche is diligentlye taught by the
priestes, they be put in remembraunce
of the bountifull benefites of God to-
warde them: and of the love & honoure
whiche of theire behalfe is dewe to God:
andalso of their deuties one towarde an-
other.

WHEN the priest first commeth out of the vestry thus apparelled, they fall downe incontinent everye one reverentlye to the ground, with so still silence on everye part, that the very fassion of the thinge striketh into them a certayne feare of God, as though he were there personally presente. When they have lien a litle space on the ground, the priest geveth them a signe for to ryse.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

WHEN they sing prayses unto God, whiche they intermixe with instrumentes of musicke, for the moste parte of other fassions then these that we use in this parte of the worlde. And like as some of ours bee muche sweter then theirs, so some of theirs doo farre passe ours.

BUT in one thinge doubtles they goo exceeding farre beyonde us. for all their musike, bothe that they playe upon instrumentes and that they singe with mannes voyce, dothe so resemble and expresse naturall affections, the sound and tune is so applied and made agreeable to the thinge, that

Theire
church
musike

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Prayers

whether it bee a prayer, or els a dytty
of gladnes, of patience, of trouble, of
mournynge, or of anger; the fassion
of the melodye dothe so represente the
meaning of the thing, that it doth won-
derfullye move, stirre, pearce, and en-
flame the hearers myndes.

AT the laste the people & the priest
together rehearse solempne pray-
ers in woordes, expreslye pronoun-
ced so made that every man maye pri-
vateliye applye to hymselfe that which
is commonlye spoken of all. In these
prayers, everye man recognisethe and
knowledgethe God to be hys maker, hys
governoure, and the principal cause of
all other goodnes, thankyng him for
so many benefites receaved at his hande.
But namelye that through the favoure
of God he hath chaunced into that pub-
lyque weale, which is moste happye and
welthye, and hathe chosen that religion
whyche he hopeth to be moste true. In
the whyche thinge if he doo anye thinge
erre, or yf there be any other better then
eyther of them is, being more acceptable
to God, he desierethe him that he wyl

of his goodnes let him have knowledge thereof, as one that is ready too followe what way soever he wyll leade hym. But yf this fourme and fassion of a commen wealthe bee beste, & his owne relygion most true and perfecte, then he desyreteth God to gyve hym a constaunte stedefastnes in the same, & too bryng all other people to the same ordre of lyvynge, & to the same opinion of God, onles there bee annye thinge that in this diversitey of religions dothe delite his unsercheable pleasure. To be shorte, he prayeth hym, that after his deathe he maye come to hym. But how soone or late, that he dare not assygne or determine. Howebeit, if it myght stande with his majesties pleasure, he woulde be muche gladder to dye a paynefull deathe and so to goo to God, then by longe lyving in worldlye prosperitey to bee awaye from him. Whan this prayer is said, they fal doun to the ground again, and a lytle after they ryse up and go to dinner. And the resydewe of the daye they passe over in playes, and exercise of chevalrye.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

NOWE I have declared & described unto you, as truelye as I coulde, the fourme & ordre of that commen wealth, which verely in my judgment is not only the beste, but also that which alone of good right maye claime and take upon it the name of a commen wealth or publique weale. for in other places they speake stil of the commen wealth. But every man procureth his owne private gaine. Here, where nothinge is private, the commen affaires bee earnestlye loked upon. And truely on both partes they have good cause so to do as they do.

HOR in other countreys who knoweth not that he shall sterve for honger, onles he make some severall provision for himselfe, though the commen wealthe florysheneversomuche in ryches? And therefore he is compelled even of verye necessitie to have regarde to him selfe, rather then to the people, that is to saye, to other. Contrarywyse, there, where all thinges be commen to every man, it is not to be doubted that any man shall lacke anye thinge necessary for his private uses: so that the commen

store houses and bernes be sufficientlye stored. for therenothinge is distributed after a nyggyshe sorte, neither there is anye poore man or begger. And though no man have anye thinge, yet everye man is ryche. The seconde booke of Utopia

EOR what can be more riche, then to lyve joyfully and merely, without al grieve & pensifenes: Not caring for his owne lyving, nor vexed or troubled with his wifes importunate complayntes, nor dreadynge povertie to his sonne, nor sorrowwyng for his doughters dowrey? Yea, they take no care at all for the lyvyng & wealthe of themselves and altheirs, of theire wyfes, theire chyldren, theire nephewes, theire childrens chyldren, and all the succession that ever shall followe in theire posteritie. And yet besydes this, there is no lesse provision for them that were ones labourers, and benowe weake and impotent, then for them that do nowe laboure and take payne.

ERE nowe woulde I see, yf anye man dare bee so bolde as to compare with this equytie, the justice of other nations. Among whom, I for-

sake God, if I can fynde any signe or token of equitie and justice. for what justice is this, that a ryche goldesmythe, or an usurer, or to bee shorte, anye of them, which either doo nothing at all, or els that whyche they doo is such, that it is not very necessary to the common wealth, should have a pleasaunte and a welthie lyvinge, either by idlenes, or by unnecessarie busines: when in the meane tyme poore labourers, carters, yronsmythes, carpenters, and plowmen, by so greate and continual toyle, as drawing and bearing beastes be skant hable to susteine, and againe, so necessary toyle, that without it no common wealth were hable to continewe and endure one yere, should yet get so harde and poore a lyving, and lyve so wretched & miserable a lyfe, that the state and condition of the labouringe beastes maye seme muche better & welthier? for they be not put to soo continual laboure, nor theire lyvinge is not muche worse, yea to tbem muche pleasaunter, takyng eno thoughte in the meane season for the tyme to come. But these seilye poore wretches be presently tormented

with barreyne & unfrutefull labour. And the remembraunce of theire poore indigent & beggerlye olde age kylleth them up. for theire dayly wages is solytle, that it will not suffice for the same daye, muche lesse it yeldeth any overplus, that may daylye be layde up for the relyefe of olde age.

IS not this an unjust & an unkynde publyque weale, whyche gyveth great fees and rewardes to gentlemen, as they call them, & to goldsmythes, and to suche other, whiche be either ydle persones, or els onlye flatterers, and devyseres of vayne pleasures, and of the contrary parte maketh no gentle provision for poore plowmen, coliars, laborers, carters, yronsmythes, & carpenters: without whome no commen wealth can continewe? But after it hath abused the labours of theire lusty and flowring age, at the laste when they be oppressed with olde age & syckenes: being nedye, poore, and indigent of all thinges, then forgettyng their so manye paynefull watchinges, not remembryng their so manye and so greate benefites, recompenseth

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

& acquyteneth them moste unkyndly with
myserable death.

AND yet besides this, the riche men
not only by private fraud, but al-
so by commen lawes do every day
pluck and snatche awaye from the poore
some parte of their daily living. So where
as it seemed before unjuste to recompense
with unkindnes their paynes that have
bene beneficiall to the publique weale,
nowe they have to this their wrong and
unjuste dealinge (which is yet a muche
worse pointe) geven the name of justice,
yea and that by force of a law.

GHEREFORE when I consider and
way in my mind all these commen
wealthes, which now a dayes any
where do florish, so God helpe me, I can
perceave nothing but a certein conspiracy
of riche men procuringe theire owne com-
modities under the name and title of the
commen wealth. They invent and de-
vise all meanes and craftes, first how to
kepe safely, without feare of lesing, that
they have unjustly gathered together, &
next how to hire and abuse the worke and
laboure of the poore for as little money as

may be. These devises, when the riche men have decreeed to be kept & observed under coloure of the comminaltie, that is to saye, also of the pore people, then they be made lawes.

BUT these most wicked and vici-
ous men, when they have by their
unsatiable covetousnes devided
among them selves al those thinges,
which woulde have sufficed all men, yet
how farre be they from the welth and
felicitie of the Utopian commen wealth.
Out of the which, in that all the desire of
money with the use thereof is utterly se-
cluded & banished, howe greate a heape
of cares is cut away. How great an occa-
sion of wickednes & mischiefe is plucked
up by the rotes, for who knoweth not,
that fraud, theft, ravine, brauling, qua-
relling, brabling, striffe, chiding, conten-
tion, murder, treason, poisoning, which
by daily punishmentes are rather re-
venged then refrained, do dye when mo-
ney dieth? And also that feare, grieve,
care, laboures, and watchinges, do perish
even the very same moment that money
perisheth?

The seconde
booke of
Utopia
Contempt
of money

VEA poverty it selfe which only seemed to lacke money, if money were gone, it also would decrease and vanishe away. And that you may perceave this more plainly, consider with your selfes some barein and unfruteful yeare, wherin manye thousandes of people have starved for honger: I dare be bolde to say, that in the end of that penury, so much corne or grain might have bene found in the rich mens bernes, if they had bene searched, as being divided among them whome famine and pestilence then consumed, no man at al should have felt that plague & penuri. So easely might men gette their living, if that same worthye princesse, lady money, did not alone stop up the waye betwene us & our lyving, which a Goddes name was very excellently devised and invented, that by her the way therto should be opened.

Tam sewer the ryche men perceave this, nor they be not ignoraunte how much better it were too lacke noo necessarye thing, then to abunde with overmuche superfluite: to be ryd oute of innumerable cares and troubles,

then to be beseiged and encombred with great ryches. And I dowte not that either the respecte of every mans private commoditie, or els the authority of oure savioure Christe (which for his great wisdom could not but know what were best, and for his inestimable goodnes could not but counsel to that which he knew to be best) wold have brought all the worlde longe ago into the lawes of this weale publique, if it wernot that one only beast, the princesse & mother of all mischiefe, Pride, doth withstande and let it. She measureth not wealth & prosperity by herowne commodities, but by the miserie and incommodities of other, she would not by her good will be made a goddesse, yf there were no wretches left, over whom she might like a scorneful ladie rule and triumph, over whose miseries her felicities myghte shyne, whose povertie she myghte vexe, tormente, and encrease by gorgiouslye settynge furthe her richesse. Thys hell hounde creapeth into mens hartes: and plucketh them backe from entering the right pathe of life, and is so depely roted in mens brestes, that she can not be plucked out.

HIS fourme & fashion of a weale publique, which I would gladly wish unto al nations: I am glad yet that it hath chaunced to the Utopians, which have folowed those institutions of life, whereby they have laid such foundations of their common wealth, as shal continew & last not only wealthely, but also as far as mans wit may judge & conjecture, shall endure for ever, for, seyng the chiefe causes of ambition and sedition, with other vices be plucked up by the rootes, and abandoned at home, there can be no jeopardie of domisticall dissention, whiche alone hathe caste under foote & brought to noughe the well fortified and stronglie defenced wealthe & riches of many cities. But forasmuch as perfect concorde remaineth, & wholesome lawes be executed at home, the envie of al forein princes be not hable to shake or move the empire, though they have many tymes long ago gone about to do it, beyng evermore driven backe.



HAS when Raphaell hadde made an ende of his tale, though many thinges came to my mind, which in the

maners and lawes of that people semed to be instituted and founded of no good reason, not onely in the fashion of their chevalry, and in their sacrifices and religions, and in other of their lawes, but also, yea and chiefly, in that which is the principal foundation of al their ordinaunces, that is to say, in the communitie of their life and livynge, withoute anye occupieng of money, by the whiche thinge onelye, all nobilitie, magnificence, wourshippe, honour, and majestie, the true ornamentes and honoures, as the common opinion is, of a common wealth, utterlye be overthrowen & destroied: yet because I knew that he was wary of talking, and was not sure whether he coulde abyde that anye thynge shoulde be sayde againste hys mynde: speciallye remembryng that he had reprehended this faulte in other, which he aferde lest they should seme not to be wise enough, onles they could

find some fault in othermens inventions: therfore I praising both their institutions and hys communication, toke him by the hand, & led him into supper: sayinge that we woulde chuese an other time to waye and examine the same matters, & to talke with him moore at large therin. Whiche woulde God it might ones come to passe. In the meane time as I can not agree and consent to all thinges that he saide, beyng els without doubt a man singularly well learned, and also in all worldelye matters exactly & profoundly experienced: so must I nedes confesse and graunt that many thinges be in the Utopian weale publique, whiche in our cities I maye rather wishe for, then hope after.

Thus endeth the afternoones talke of Raphael Hythlodaye concerning the lawes and institutions of the Ilande of Utopia.

To the right honourable Hierome Buslyde, provost of Arienn, & counselloure to the catholike kinge Charles, Peter Gyles, Citizein of Antwerpe, wisheth health and felicitie ☺ ☺



HOMAS MORE, the singular orname-
nte of this our
age, as you your
self (right hon-
ourable Buslide)
can witnesse, to
whome he is per-
fектly wel know-
en, sent unto me

this other day the ylande of Utopia, to
very few as yet knownen, but most wor-
thy, which as farre excelling Platoes
commen wealthe, all people shoulde be
willing to know: specially of a man most
eloquent so finely set furth, so conning-
ly painted out, and so evidently subject
to the eye, that as oft as I reade it, me
thinketh that I see somwhat more, then
when I heard Raphael Hythloday him-
selfe (for I was present at that talke
aswell as master More) uttering and

pronouncing his owne woordes. Yea, though the same man, accordinge to his pure eloquence, did so open and declare the matter, that he might plainly enough appeare to reporte not thinges which he had learned of others onely by hearesay, but which he had with his own eyes presently sene, & throughly vewed, and wherin he had no small time bene conversant and abiding: a man trulie, in mine opinion, as touching the knowledge of regions, peoples, and worldly experience, muche passinge, yea, even the very famous and renowmed travailer Vlysses: and in dede suche a one, as for the space of these viij. C. yeres past I think nature into the worlde brought not furth his like: in comparison of whome Vespuce maye be thoughte to have sene nothing.

DOREOVER, wheras we be wont more effectually & pitthely to declare & expresse thinges that we have sene, then whiche we have but one-lye hearde, there was besides that in this man a certen peculiar grace and singular dexteritie, to discribe & set furth a mat-

ter withall. Yet the selfe same thinges
as ofte as I beholde and consider them
drawen and painted oute with master
Mores pensille, I am therwith somoved,
so delited, so inflamed, and so rapt, that
sometime me think I am presently con-
versaunt, even in the ylande of Utopia.
And I promise you, I can skante beleve
that Raphael himselfe by al that five
yeres space that he was in Utopia abid-
ing, saw there somuch, as here in master
Mores description is to be sene and per-
ceaved. Whiche description with so
manye wonders and miraculous thinges
is replenished, that I stande in great
doubt wherat first and chieflie to muse
or marveile: whether at the excellencie
of his perfect and suer memorie, which
could welniegh worde by woerde re-
hearse so manye thinges once onely
heard: or elles at his singular prudence,
who so well and wittly marked and bare
away al the originall causes and foun-
taynes (to the vulgare people commenly
most unknownen) wherof both yssueth
and springeth the mortall confusion &
utter decaye of a commen wealth, & also

the avauncement and wealthy state of the same may riese and growe: or elles at the efficacie and pitthe of his wordes, which in so fine a latin stile, with suche force of eloquence, hath couched together & comprised so many and divers matters, speciallie beinge a man continuallie encombred with so manye busye and troublesome cares, both publique and private, as he is.

NOWBEIT all these thinges cause you little to marvell (righte honourable Buslid) for that you are familiarly and throughly acquainted with the notable, yea, almost divine witte of the man.

BUT nowe to procede to other matters, I suerly know nothing nedeful or requisite to be adjoyned unto his writinges: onely a meter of iiiij. verses written in the Utopian tongue, whiche after master Mores departure Hythloday by chaunce shewed me, that have I caused to be added thereto, with the Alphabete of the same nation, and have also garnished the margent of the boke with certen notes. for, as touch-

inge the situation of the ylande, that is to saye, in what part of the worlde Ato-
pia standeth, the ignoraunce and lacke
whereof not a litle troubleth and grev-
eth master More, in dede Raphael left
not that unspoken of. Howbeit with
verie fewe wordes he lightly touched it,
incidentlye by the way passing it over,
as meanyng of likelihod to kepe and re-
serve that to an other place.

AND the same, I wot not how, by
a certen evell & unluckie chaunce
escaped us bothe. for when Ra-
phael was speaking therof, one of Mas-
ter Mores servauntes came to him, and
whispered in his eare. Wherefore I beyng
then of purpose more earnestly addict
to heare, one of the company, by reason
of cold taken, I thinke, a shippeborde,
coughed out so loude, that he toke from
my hearinge certen of his wordes. But I
wil never stynte, nor rest, until I have
gotte the full & exacte knowledge here-
of: insomuche that I will beable perfect-
ly to instructe you, not onely in the lon-
gitude or true meridian of theylande, but
also in the just latitude therof, that is to

say, in the sublevalion or height of the pole in that region, if our frende Hythloday be in safetie & alive  for we heare very uncerteren newes of him. Some reporte, that he died in his jorney homewarde. Some agayne affirme, that he returned into his countrey, but partly for that he coulde not away with the fashions of his countrey folk, and partly for that his minde & affection was altogether set & fixed upon Utopia, they say that he hathe taken his voyage thetherwarde agayne.

NOW as touching this, that the name of this yland is nowhere founde amonge the olde & auncient cosmographers, this doubte Hythloday himselfe verie well dissolved. for why, it is possible enoughe, quod he, that the name, whiche it had in olde time was afterwarde chaunged, or elles that they never had knowledge of this island: forasmuch as now in our time divers landes be found which to the olde geographers were unknownen. Howbeit, what nedeth it in this behalfe to fortifie the matter with argumentes, seynge Master More

is author herof sufficient? But wheras he doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the booke, in deede here in I both com- mende, and also knowledge the mannes modestie.

OWBEIT unto me it semeth a worke most unworthie to be long suppressed, and most worthy to go abrod into the handes of men, yea, & under the title of youre name to be pub- lyshed to the worlde: either because the singular endowmentes and qualites of Master More be to no man better knownen then to you, or els bicauseno man is more fitte and meete then you, with good coun- selles to further & avaunce the commen wealth, wherin you have many yeares al- ready continued and travailed with great glory & commendation, bothe of wise- dome and knowledge, & also of integritie & uprightnes. Thus O liberall supporter of good learninge, and floure of this oure time, I byd you moste hartely well to fare. At Antwerpe, 1516, the first daye of No- vember.

¶ A meter of iij. verses in the Utopian tongue, briefly touchinge as well the straunge beginning, as also the happie & wealthie continuance of the same common wealthe. ¶



TOPOS ha Boccas peula
chama polta chamaan,
Bargol hemaglomi Baccan
soma gymnosphaon,
Agrama gymnosophon la-
barem bacha bodamilomin
Voluala barchin heman la lavoluala
dramme pagloni.

¶ Whiche verses the translator, accord-
inge to his simple knowledge and meane
understanding in the Utopian tongue,
hath thus rudely Englished. ¶



Y kinge and conquerour
Utopus by name,
A prince of much renowme
and immortall fame,
Hath made me an yle that
earst no ylande was,
ful fraught with worldly welth, with plea-
sure and solas.
I one of all other without philosophie

Have shaped for man a philosophicall
citie.

As myne I am nothinge daungerous to
imparte,
So better to receave I am readie with al
my harte.

A shorte meter of Utopia, written by Ane
molius, poete laureate, & nephewe to Hy-
thlodaye by his sister. ☀ ☀



E Utopie cleped An-
tiquitie,
Voyde of haunte & herbor-
ough,
Nowe am I like to Platoes
citie,

Whose fame flieth the worlde through.
Yea like, or rather more likely
Platoes platte to excell and passe.
for what Platoes penne hathe platted
briefely

In naked wordes, as in a glasse,
The same have I perfourmed fully,
With lawes, with men, & treasure fytely,
Wherfore not Utopie, but rather rightely
My name is Eutopie: A place of felicitie.

Gerarde Noviomage of Utopia



OTH pleasure please? then
place the here, and well the
rest,
Most pleasaunt pleasures
thou shalte finde here.
Doeth profit ease? then
here arrive, this yle is best.
for passinge profettes do here appeare.
Doeth bothe thee tempte, and woldest
thou gripe both gaine and pleasure?
This yle is fraught with both bounte-
ously.
To still thy gredie intent, reape here in-
comparable treasure
Bothe minde and tongue to garnishe
richelie.
The hid welles and fountaines both of
vice and vertue
Thou hast them here subject unto thine
eye.
Be thankful now, and thankes where
thankes be due
Geve to Thomas More, Londons im-
mortal glorye.

Cornelius Graphey to the Reader



ILT thou knowe what
wonders straunge be in the
lande that late was founde?
Wilte thou learne thy life to
leade, by divers ways that
godly be?

Wilt thou of vertue and of vice, under-
stande the very grounde?

Wilt thou see this wretched world, how
ful it is of vanitie?

Then read, and marke, and beare in mind,
for thy behoufe, as thou maie best.

All thinges that in this present worke,
that worthie clerke sir Thomas More,
With witte divine ful learnedly, unto the
worlde hath plaine exprest,
In whom London well glory maye, for
wisedome and for godly lore.

The Printer to the Reader

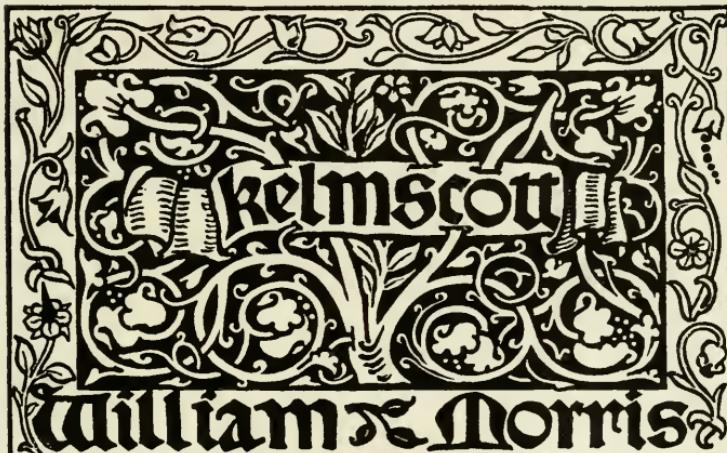


HE Utopian Alphabete,
good Reader, whiche in the
above written Epistle is
promised, hereunto I have
not now adjoyned, because
I have not as yet the true
characters or fourmes of the Utopiane

letters. And no marveill: seyng it is a tongue to us muche straunger then the Indian, the Persian, the Syrian, the Arabicke, the Egyptian, the Macedonian, the Sclavonian, the Ciprian, the Scythian etc. Which tongues, though they be nothing so straunge among us as the Utopian is, yet their characters we have not. But I trust, God willing, at the next impression hereof to perfourme that whiche nowe I can not: that is to saye: to exhibite perfectly unto thee the Utopian Alphabet. In the meane time accept my good wyl. And so fare well.

Imprinted at London in Paules Churche Yarde, at the sygne of the Lambe, by Abraham Weale. M.D.LVI.

Now revised by F. S. Ellis & printed again
by William Morris at the Kelmscott Press,
Hammersmith, in the County of Middle-
sex. finished the 4th day of August, 1893.



Sold by Reeves & Turner, 196, Strand.



